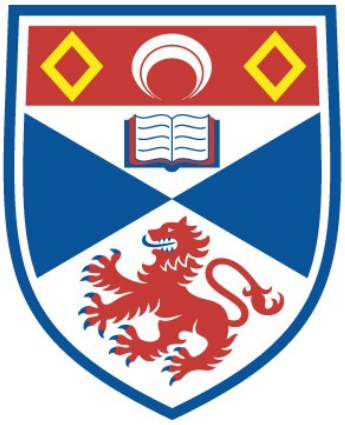
HELPFULNESS IN CITIES AND TOWNS : THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN URBANIZATION AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR IN TURKEY

Namik Ayvalioglu

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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Helpfulness in cities and towns:

The relationship between urbanization and social behaviour in Turkey

by

NAMIK AYVALIOGLU

Thesis submitted to the University of St Andrews

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CERTIFICATE

I hereby certify that Mr Namik Ayvalioglu has completed twelve terms of research under my supervision after being admitted as a research student under Ordinance General, No 12. He has fulfilled the conditions of the resolution of the University Court, 1967, No 1, and is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr Andrew Whiten
Research Supervisor
November 1981

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is a record of the results of my own research, that it is my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented in application for a higher degree.

Namik Ayvalioglu

November 1981

To Sylvie

who has devotedly given her loving support and help

during so many years

ABSTRACT

The present research evaluated the generality of urban social behaviour findings in a new cultural setting - in Turkey. The nature of four types of social behaviour was examined. A field study was carried out in Turkey in order to compare the level of helpfulness shown towards strangers in towns, cities and squatter settlements within the city, while a survey study examined the nature of various aspects of kin, friends' and neighbours' social behaviours across these Turkish environments. The results showed differences in social behaviour between the two environments depending on the type of relationship involved. First, urban residents held less trusting and helping attitudes and were significantly less helpful towards strangers requiring assistance. Second, social relationships between neighbours were also significantly less frequent amongst urban residents. The degree of social behaviour occurring between kin and friends did not differ between the two environments, although certain aspects of kin and friendship in the city were different: kin members in the city were found to be geographically dispersed, and friends of urban residents were drawn from a larger social pool. These results from Turkey suggest that urban social behaviour relationships may indeed be a general phenomenon. These results offer a perspective from which to evaluate the nature of the impact of urban living: urban living influences only the social relationships of a less important, less familiar and intimate nature; in other words, relatively situationally dependent kinds of behaviours are affected by urban living.

Examination of social behaviour within the Turkish city environments showed the existence of local environments which differed considerably in their social behaviour. Most interesting in this regard are the squatter settlements of Turkish cities whose residents showed

attitudes and a level of pro-social behaviour equal to that found in towns and significantly greater than that found amongst the rest of the city residents. This supports the view that the city squatters may be in a psychological and social sense "urban villagers". Consistent and considerable differences in social behaviour were also found between other types of city districts. Some of these districts came close to the towns and squatter settlements in their levels of pro-social behaviour, suggesting, first, that the city environments are not homogeneous in terms of social behaviour and there is a complex interplay between a multitude of influential factors, so urbanisation alone is not an explanation of social behaviour; second, drawing distinctions between environments in terms of their behavioural characteristics is best done with the concept of a social-environmental continuum rather than an urban/non-urban dichotomy.

Altogether, the present research suggests that the overall urban environment influences only certain kinds of pro-social behaviours which are more situationally dependent such as those involving strangers and neighbours. This influence does not occur in a homogeneous way, but is mediated by social characteristics of environments and residents.

Environmental input level was, overall, found to influence the level of helpfulness: the higher the environmental input level, the lower the level of helpfulness for female subjects but not for male subjects in Turkey. Analysis of the input level across environments studied did not always correspond to the observed level of helpfulness in these environments. It was argued that the input level, as suggested by Milgram (1970), is not the only explanation for social behaviour; there must be other variables mediating this effect, ie socio-cultural factors.

As an additional concern, the present study investigated sex differences in helpfulness. There were sex differences in helping toward

strangers in Turkey: males were significantly more helpful than females towards strangers in helping contexts (free from high cost, threat, and required no masculine orientation) that the earlier researches reported no sex differences. This showed empirically the influence of the culture on sex roles in Turkey. Finally, a theoretical question; the nature of the relationship between the source of help and the type of helpfulness was evaluated empirically. An association was found between the type of helping act and the source of help an individual sought: costly types of assistance were associated with kin, friends were a source of help for assistance requiring intimacy, while neighbours were associated negatively with cost and intimacy in assistance.

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[1] A study extending the present research was carried out in the USA but it is not included in the present thesis.

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CHAPTER 1

SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR IN THE CITY; STEREOTYPE, THEORIES AND ANALYSES

CHAPTER 1

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1.1 Introduction

It has been suggested that the shift to an urban habitat is a significant, if not the most significant, development in human history. The terms 'urban' or 'city' are used synonymously in general to describe a densely populated settlement concentrated into a comparatively small geographical area (Fisher, 1976). On a global scale, urbanization during the past century has shown a dramatic increase. For example, in 1800 only 3% of the human population lived in cities of 100,000 or more, whereas in the present decade almost one third of the human population lives in such a habitat (Sadalla and Stea, 1978). In industrialized nations such as Western European countries and the USA, the proportion is even greater. For example, according to Davis (1973), 70% of the American population lives in less than 2% of the total land area of the country (ie in cities). Such a growth, according to Davis (1968) arises from (a) rural migration occurring as a result of the cities' attraction as centres of occupation and amenities, and (b) a general population growth.

City living poses a human dilemma. On the one hand, the high level of population in the city is seen to provide a vast potential for human interaction and exceptional communication possibilities and these present options no other social arrangement could offer (Jacobs, 1961; Milgram, 1970). On the other hand, the most commonly shared view is that of the city as an unnatural human habitat (Ittleson et al, 1974). The quality of human interaction, and of certain essential ingredients of social behaviour, are thought to be eroded by certain features of city life. Anecdotal evidence concerning the urban dwellers' lack of helpfulness, aloofness and indifference towards his fellow urbanites in need of assistance is certainly available in ample quantity to illustrate this characterization of urban life. Most notable of all was the

widely publicized plight of Kitty Genovese whose cries for help as she was being murdered outside her home in New York city, stirred not one of the 38 witnesses to come to her aid, nor even to do such a simple thing as to telephone for the police. This behaviour of urban by-standers (their indifference, unwillingness to give a helping hand to a victim) aroused a number of commentaries: one said 'I would ascribe this to the effect of the megalopolis in which we live and which makes closeness very difficult and leads to alienation of the individual from the group', while another remarked on 'apathy or lack of concern for our fellow men in the city' (Rosenthal, 1964). Later on, some of these accounts (ie diffusion of responsibility) have been demonstrated to be rather simplistic by Latane and Darley (1970), who nevertheless suggested that these incidents were more likely to occur in cities than in towns. However, much of the focus in later research on helping behaviour has been on variables that have no particular relevance to the urban environment, thus the relationship between the urban environment and helping behaviours has been largely left unresolved.

Meanwhile, evidence of people's general dissatisfaction with urban living continues to accumulate. For example, let us consider the result of a recent Gallup survey (Gallup Opinion Index, 1973) in the USA. The questionnaire asked the respondents to indicate where they would prefer to live: the choices given were (a) in the city, (b) in a suburb, (c) in a small town, or (d) on a farm. Only 13% of the total number of respondents chose the city. By choosing other than the city, 80% of the survey respondents living at that time in cities explicitly declared their discontentment with city life.

These popular opinions also appear to be the parallel to many social scientific analyses of urban social behaviour. The analyses of urban life and urban environment suggest that density, crowding, pressure, architectural design and structural differentiation in the

city are factors converging on urban dwellers in a way that produces profound changes in urban personality reflected in the form of anonymity, loneliness, withdrawal behaviour, aloofness, and superficiality and unhelpfulness in their social contacts with fellow urbanites (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1950; Alexandre, 1968). Furthermore, the same analysis appears in Wirth's hypothesis that the other more essential relationships occurring within the primary group (kinship, friendship and neighbourly relationships) have been negatively affected by urban living.

In the last two decades, social psychological effects of urban environment and urban living have stimulated a great deal of interest. A growing body of research attempted to evaluate the assertion that the urban environment is responsible for particular patterns of social behaviour, ie superficiality, indifference, unhelpfulness towards fellow urbanites in their inter-personal relationships, as well as relationships and mutual aid between kin, friends and neighbours. Empirical evidence testing urban social behaviour to be reviewed in the next chapter suggests some support for reduced social behaviour (eg to strangers and neighbours) suggested by both the popular and scientific views. Yet, the empirical evidence on this issue is scarce, fragmentary and furthermore has been collected from only one type of culture; western, developed culture.

The present research is designed to evaluate the hypothesis of the the presumed negative effect of urban environment on social behaviour as well as several related theoretical questions, in Turkey, a culture different from those previously used in this line of research. In order to do this, the empirical studies examining the nature of helping behaviour shown towards a stranger, as well as the nature of social contact and mutual aid between kin, friends and neighbours were carried out in environments varying in the degree of urbanization, ie city versus town, and various suburban environments within the city.

The research questions pursued in this project and their background will be briefly highlighted in Chapter 3.

The aim of the next sections is to introduce the concept of urbanization with a definition of the terms urban and non-urban and features of urban environment that distinguish it from non-urban environments. Then, the prominent analyses of urban environment and urban living will be reviewed followed by reviews of studies on variables suggested as factors in the city that cause alterations in social behaviour. A critical appraisal will be attempted after each review of studies on variables such as density, and crowding, pressure (noise), architectural design, and social differentiation so as to assess whether these factors have any significant influence on urban social behaviour. This assessment is important for the understanding of the empirical studies reported in the next chapters.

1.2 What is urban and non-urban?

From the outset the use of the term 'urban' has been a slippery and deceptive concept in the social sciences (Fisher, 1976). Now, there seems, however, to be general agreement on the criterion of population size.

As will be seen later in this chapter, Wirth (1938) defines an urban area by utilizing the three criteria of size, density and heterogeneity of population. However, population size, amongst those three, seems to carry the strongest weight in Wirth's definition. The USA Bureau of Census (Davis, 1968, 1973) defines an urbanized area as a central city of 50,000 population or larger and the suburban agglomeration around it. This suggests that a community is more or less urban

depending on the size of its population. In terms of social behaviour, there is some support for this view from several studies: for example, attitudinal and behaviour characteristics of the population appear to vary systematically with population size (Queen and Carpenter, 1953; Ogburn and Duncan, 1964 ; Gleen and Hill, 1977). Also, most of the studies on urban and non-urban differences reported in subsequent chapters have utilized the criterion of population size and compared these two environments on several characteristics. For example, urban areas usually had at least a 300,000 population as against non-urban areas having a population of less than 25,000. Suburban areas are considered as the intermediate case. The population size seems to provide a fairly practical criterion that avoids many problems which can occur with indices such as density and population heterogeneity (Fisher, 1972, 1976; Korte, 1976). In the present research, conforming to the above consensus, this general definition will be used to distinguish urban from non-urban.

However, it is equally important to bear in mind that an urban environment appears to differ from a less-urban environment (ie city versus town) in many respects other than just population size (eg density, noise level, physical scale). This poses significant problems in determining which aspects of the urban environment have or have not a bearing on some particular social phenomena associated with the urban environment. This is the key question in an attempt to establish a link between urbanism and social behaviour (Korte, 1978). There is another important question; whether the presumed attributes of urban environment actually show the expected variation with population size. For instance one index of density, the number of inhabitants per room, is negatively correlated with population size (USA Bureau of Census, 1971). Hence, while there is general agreement on the criterion used to measure what is urban and non-urban, there remain specific unresolved

problems.

1.3 Analyses of urban social behaviour (urban theories)

Two general approaches to the study of the impact of urbanization have, thus far, developed in social sciences; the determinist and socio-structural. The determinist approach presupposes the existence of urban/non-urban differences in social behaviour and aims at establishing a link between the characteristics of urban environment and certain forms of social behaviour. Examples of such analyses which relate social behaviour to essential features of the total urban environment, and also to some more limited features, are those developed by Wirth (1938), Simmel (1950) and Milgram (1970). These analyses consider the impact of urban environment on human experience to be quite negative. Meanwhile, the socio-cultural approach suggested by Gans (1962) and Lewis (1965) does not view the environmental factors as crucial in the urban experience of individuals. On the contrary, it emphasizes the significance of sociological factors such as socio-economic status, ethnicity, and so on, as determinants of social behaviour. In the following sections these two major theories will be briefly reviewed.

1.3.1 Determinist theory

Within this group, the most complete analysis of city life and its consequences on inter-personal social behaviour has been offered by Wirth (1938). In this seminal paper, he proposed that the principal features of a city, its size, density and population heterogeneity, lead to a distinctive urban way of life in which social differentiation, the increased importance of secondary groups, and the multiplication of an individual's different roles are emphasized. In turn, these social relationship structures result in weakening primary group relationships (ie between neighbours, friends and kin) and relationships between

urbanites become utilitarian, impersonal, superficial and unhelpful. The following quotation probably indicates best Wirth's characterization of urban social relations:

> "Characteristically, urbanites meet one another in highly segmented roles. They are undoubtedly more dependent upon people for the satisfaction of their life-needs than are rural people and thus urbanites are associated with a greater number of organized groups, but they are less dependent upon particular persons and their dependence is confined to a highly fractionalized aspect of the others' round activity. This is essentially what is meant by saying that the city is characterized by secondary rather than primary group contacts. The contacts of the city may indeed be face-to-face, but they are nevertheless impersonal, superficial, transitory and segmental. The reserve, indifference and the blasé attitude which urbanites manifest in their relationships may thus be regarded as devides for immunizing themselves against the personal claims and expectation of others." (p 53)

According to Wirth, then, the city is a social organization that substitutes secondary group relationships for primary ones. As a result, the extended family and kin structure which are the characteristics of country life lose their historical function. Families are smaller, the larger kinship group having disintegrated, and as individual members pursue their own diverging interests, the remaining family ties become narrower and unfulfilled.

Friendships, Wirth argued in 1938, are weak in urban life. Although an urbanite is surrounded by and is in ceaseless contact with people, he interacts with them rarely at a personal level, and casual and intimate personal ties are eclipsed by the superficial, impersonal

and transitory character of urban social relationships. Even relationships with existing friends are held on the basis of rational will (personal calculation) rather than directed by traditional means.

Traditional types of neighbourly relations, and neighbourhood relations which are characteristics of country life, are also not viable according to Wirth on account of the requirements of urban living: high turnover in residence due to mobility as well as urban personality characteristics (eg anomie). These characteristics of urban life and urbanites do not promote intimate and lasting ties between neighbours in an urban environment.

Like Wirth, Simmel (1950) offered an account of urban/non-urban differences placing weight on the more psychological aspects of urbanism. Although he was even less specific than Wirth in indicating the social behaviour he was referring to, Simmel argued that the intense level of stimulation, pace and tempo of urban living, requires urbanites to adopt an impersonal and blasé attitude towards fellow urbanites as a means of self-preservation in the face of the demands of the city:

> "Partly this psychological fact (individuals being unable to respond to all potential social contacts in a city), partly the right to distrust which men have in the face of the touch-and-go elements of metropolitan life, necessitates our reserve. As a result of this reserve, we frequently do not know by sight those who have been our neighbours for years. And it is this reserve, which in the eyes of small-town people makes us appear cold, heartless: indeed, if I do not deceive myself the inner aspect of their outer reserve is not only indifference, but more often than we are aware is a slight aversion, a mutual strangeness and revulsion which will break

into hatred and fight at the moment of a closer contact, however caused." (p 640)

The urbanite, according to Simmel, is indifferent; he is distrustful and unresponsive to external events of no personal relevance and, like Wirth, Simmel perceives these individual characteristics as present in direct proportion to the level of urbanization.

More limited consequences of city living are suggested by Milgram (1970). Milgram's explanation of input overload views urban inter-personal social behaviour as an adaptation to the excessive social and environmental input of the urban environment. He perceives the urban environment as consisting of sights, sounds, novel events and demands which impinge on the urban dweller who then directly adapts to the volume of environmental input, in order to manage his daily affairs, by reducing his responsiveness to other persons who have no personal claim on his time or obligation (ie strangers). Thus, Milgram's model predicts that the principal effect of urban living would occur in the form of unhelpfulness and inconsiderateness amongst urban dwellers.

1.3.2 Socio-cultural theory

The other major analysis of urban social behaviour to be considered is the socio-cultural approach that perceives urbanization in terms of a shift in technology, economic alternatives and role differentiations. A prominent figure in this group is Gans (1962) who argued that environmental factors put forward by the determinist analysis (density, size and heterogeneity) have negligible effects on urban residents, but social variables such as economic status and stage in the life cycle have a pronounced influence on social behaviour of residents. Hence, if there are differences in social behaviour, this can be explained by variations in social class, the life cycle and ethnicity which may be found in one setting rather than another, rather than by variation in

size, density or heterogeneity.

To these two major analyses of urban environment (the determinist and socio-cultural analyses), another recent sociological formulation of urbanism can be added, namely the sub-cultural theory as suggested by Fisher (1976). According to Fisher's formulation, urban living affects social behaviour because of the existence of diverse sub-cultures which may, for example, be ethnic, racial or SES, and which are formed by large populations in the city. The theory argues that the presence of these thriving sub-cultures increases the occurrence of deviant, unconventional and innovative behaviour and leads to a diffusion of new attitudes and behaviour along an urban-to-rural continuum, that is, they occur first within the city and then spread outwards. This results in urban/non-urban differences which manifest themselves in unconventional behaviour due to a cultural lag. Fisher does not see primary group relationships in the city as being weakened; on the contrary, the theory argues that primary relationships would be strengthened among people who are members of social milieus. But inter-personal behaviour would be weaker in the city where sub-cultural differences are more pronounced relative to non-urban behaviour. For example, relationships between strangers and neighbours will be of a different character, but not between friends and kin.

In sum, then, the first of these two major analyses of urban life, the determinist analysis, defines the city as composed of factors such as size, density, homogeneity, urban architectural design, and the impact of these factors on human experience is assumed to be negative. In contrast to this hypothesis, the socio-cultural approach defines urbanization in terms of a shift in technologies, economic alternatives and role differentiation, and suggests that if there are any behavioural differences between the two environments, this should be sought in cultural factors.

1.4 Analyses of environmental features of the city for social behaviour

In addition to these theoretical analyses, in the following sections the question of whether a change in the form of human habitat - urban living - has significant impact on human behaviour, and experience is approached by analyses which are made of the social and behavioural impact of particular features of the urban environment. These analyses also argue indirectly for the existence of urban/non-urban differences in social behaviour. The expectation of urban/non-urban differences in these analyses follows if the particular features in question vary systematically with urbanization (population size) and if social behaviour is significantly affected by this feature. These prominent features are density, crowding, noise, architectural and spatial design, population size, and structural differentiation. The following section of this chapter will consider evidence for the impact of each of these particular factors on social behaviour.

1.4.1 Density and crowding as a determinant of social behaviour in the city

One of the prominent factors in the city environment is density and crowding; all recent research and text books alike evaluating the impact of city living and city environment include density and crowding as an influential factor in human experience in the city (see Ittelson, Proshansky, Rivlin and Winkel, 1974; Altman, 1975; Stokols, 1977; Altman and Wohlwill, 1977; Canter and Stringer, 1975).

The high levels of population density and crowding associated with an urban environment are viewed as having serious negative behavioural consequences such as physical malfunctions, crime, riots, family disorganization, withdrawal, aggression and decreased quality of life (Zlutnich and Altman, 1972; Altman, 1975; Stokols, 1978). In

fact, much of contemporary city and town planning has treated the reduction of population density as a prime goal, on the assumption that density is responsible for various pathologies (Jacobs, 1961).

The accumulation of an extensive literature on density and crowding indicates the high interest taken in this aspect, yet research findings are not altogether conclusive and coherent. In fact, the area of research is so extensive that here only a review of selective research will be undertaken to highlight and assess the role played by density and crowding in influencing the patterns of social behaviour in urban environments. A more detailed discussion as well as a review of research on density and crowding can be examined in Ittleson, Proshansky, Rivlin and Winkel (1974), Stokols (1978), Baron and Rodin (1978), Lawrence (1974), Altman (1975), Kirmeyer (1978) and Epstein (1981).

There are two types of research in the area: demographic correlational research and experimental research (in both field and laboratory). Demographic research in the city, assuming negative effects, have examined several behaviours as a correlate of density and crowding such as social pathology, withdrawal, aggression and so on, while experimental studies in more controlled environment have investigated the impact of crowding on several social behaviours.

First, the definition of density and crowding has been a constant source of confusion for researches in the area. Often the differences between the terms 'crowding' and density are not always made clear. Sometimes the terms are used synonymously, to reflect the physical idea of number of people per unit of space. And, even in that case, the unit of space is not always the same but covers the range from people per acre of land, people per census tract, people per room in homes, dwelling units per acre of land, and the like. As will be seen in later chapters, these different indicators of density may not yield identical effects on behaviour. At present, however, researchers seem to be

reaching a conceptual convergence with regard to density and crowding; "density" connotes the physical state of the number of people per unit of space, while "crowding" is a psychological experience of this state (Stokols, 1972, 1976; Proshnsky, Ittleson and Rivlin, 1970; Altman, 1975; Loo, 1977).

Distinction between crowding and density was most sharply drawn by Stokols (1972) who maintained that an increased number of people per unit space (density) is an important prior condition for a feeling of crowding, but it is not always wholly sufficient to create that feeling. Situational factors such as amount and arrangement of space, noise and the like might interact with the condition of high density and cause a feeling of crowding. In the same way social factors such as competition, interference from others and goal-blocking can interact with high density to lead to a feeling of crowding. Stokols adds that personal characteristics may also contribute to the feeling of crowding. Further, Stokols has made a distinction between molar and molecular crowding: molar crowding is associated with large scale (ie urban) population, whereas a micro-level of crowding is associated with individuals, small groups and inter-personal events. According to Stokols all types of crowding involve stress, either psychological or physiological, ie feeling of cognitive inconsistency based on the discrepancy between individuals' desire for space and actual available space.

To sum up, density is at present seen as a number of persons per unit of space, while crowding represents an excess of stimulation by density more than what is desired by individuals which leads to the experience of crowding by individuals and causes stress.

In the next section the density and crowding studies will be divided into two parts: correlational studies which were carried out in urban areas, and experimental studies, either in the field or

laboratory.

Demographic (correlational) studies of density and crowding

Research in this area has been stimulated by early crowding research with non-human populations, such as that of Christian (1963) and Calhoun (1962), who found among mice and rats a high mortality, a low production rate, and several behavioural abnormalities (the author (Calhoun) named it as behavioural sink phenomenon) which occurs as a result of exposure to overcrowding. This finding in non-humans prompted a number of investigators in human social behaviour to draw the analogy that crowding in cities may produce a behavioural sink phenomenon.

These studies basically sought some correspondence between overcrowding at several levels and social pathologies such as mental illness, crime, delinquencies, anti-social behaviour and family disorganization, hypothesizing that these social disorganizations are an end product of long-term exposure to density in urban environment. These researches have serious methodological shortcomings due to (a) problems in defining density and crowding measures, and (b) the correlational approach which does not permit establishing of casuality between factors (see Epstein and Baum, 1978). This is not surprising in view of the fact that, although cities are more densely populated than rural areas, housing censuses reveal that the number of persons per room (internal density) does not tend to follow an increase in external density (number of persons per geographical area) in American cities (Carnahan, Gove and Galle, 1974). This may indicate that internal-density remains at higher levels in rural areas than in metropolitan areas, although this may not be true for all neighbourhoods in the city, ie ghetto or slum and working class neighbourhoods (see also Zlutnick and Altman, 1972, for more detailed discussion on this point).

As will be seen later, there are two measures of density most

commonly used in correlational research: the average number of people per square kilometre of land, and the number of persons per room, but, despite the drawbacks of this approach, one can to some degree generalize about the findings drawn from this literature. In general it provides little evidence that crowding causes major ill-effects in the city environments. Schmitt (1966) provided early evidence of association between density and pathology. Based on analysis of aggregate health indicators for the 42 census tracks making up Honolulu, strong positive correlations were found between population per residential acre and nine measures of health and social well being after controlling for income and education (partial r = .56, whereas in-dwelling density (persons per room) was only weakly correlated with pathology rates (to an average +.17, controlling for income and education)). Unlike Schmitt, Winsborough (1965) found little consistency in correlations between population density and a number of measures of health and social well being in Chicago. Statistical controls of several social factors (SES, quality of housing, in-dwelling density) produced a complex pattern: mortality and general public assistance negatively correlated with areal density while some other factors, such as infant mortality and public assistance to minors were positive.

A somewhat more sophisticated analysis of the 75 community areas in Chicago was made by Galle, Gove and McPherson (1972), who used separate measures of the four components of areal density; persons per room, rooms per dwelling, dwellings per structure and structures per acre. In-dwelling density (persons per room) accounted for more variance in each pathology than did the other three density measures. A combination of these four densities, independent of SES and ethnicity, accounted for substantial variation in rates of pathology measures such as mortality, fertility rates, public assistance, juvenile delinquency and mental hospital admission. However, when the four densities were

controlled, SES and ethnicity accounted for as much as or more variance than did density in pathology measures. According to several criticisms (Kirmeyer, 1978; Fisher, Baldassare and Ofshe, 1975), the data of Galle et al should be interpreted with caution because in statistical analyses of this study the amount of shared variance between density and personal characteristics is so great that a meaningful partitioning of their effects may not be possible (see Fisher, Baldassare and Ofshe, 1975, for more detailed discussion about this study).

Levy and Herzog (1974) in Holland, consistent with Schmitt (1966), found positive correlations between areal density (ie average number of persons per square kilometre) and several measures of health and social pathologies. The areal density accounted for more than 30% of the variance in pathologies after controlling for SES and religious heterogeneity. The in-dwelling density, on the other hand, accounted for only 10% of the variance and some measures were even negatively correlated with it (eg, the lower suicide rate and delinquency). Additional support was reported by Webb and Colette (1975) for the later finding of Levy and Herzog. They found a reverse relationship between areal density and drug use; the greater the in-dwelling density, the less frequent the use of stress-alleviating drugs.

Freedman, Heshka and Levy (1975) found very weak relationships between density and pathologies after controlling for several personal variables. They examined crime and health records of the 334 health areas in New York city. Health areas, homogeneous neighbourhoods of 15,000 or 25,000 residents, were grouped on the basis of median income into four levels. Within income levels, density had a consistent effect on only one of six measures of well being and pathologies. Later, in a multiple regression analysis, income level and ethnicity accounted for more variance in pathology than density. Several other studies also failed to find a correlation between density measures

(area and in-dwelling) and pathologies but personal characteristics of residents (Choldin and Ronesk, 1975; Booth and Johnson, 1975).

As the brief review of preceding correlational studies would suggest, although there are some indications of social pathologies as a result of the high level density and crowding in the cities, on the whole this effect has failed to be demonstrated. Even the existing findings, as already pointed out, should be treated carefully, particularly in the presence of several methodological problems such as the definition of density and crowding, the possible related variables that might explain variance more than the density and crowding, and their correlational nature.

Experimental studies of density and crowding

To gain insight into the reality of popular speculations and correlational findings in relation to the effects of density and crowding in human behaviour, the effects of these variables have been examined in more controlled settings, ie either in laboratory or in field settings. Experimenters employed the stress model and centred their investigations upon affective responses of individuals to crowding. This general model of crowding takes into account antecedent factors that interact with density situations in which self- and other boundaries are less effective than desired. According to the model, in such situations, individual and inter-personal states, including stress and anxiety are generated. Consequently, a variety of coping behaviours are set in motion by the individual to re-establish desired levels of exchange. This effort can produce various costs in the form of immediate performance decrements, stress and long term deficits as well. It will be recalled that in this model high density does not invariably act as a stress (Stokols, 1972), but as a condition which can be stressful when it is accompanied by disruptions of control over interpersonal

interaction, goals etc (Stokols, 1978; Altman, 1975; Sundstrom, 1975; Baron and Rodin, 1978). For example, crowding in a desired environment, a party in a room, say, may not act as a stressor, as it may in a supermarket or a crowded room. The experimental studies of crowding fall into two groups: the laboratory studies and the field studies. In the laboratory studies, crowding is usually engendered by placing a relatively large number of people in a relatively small room for short periods of time. These studies in the laboratory created a scarcity of resources or reduced the desired level of privacy in order to study crowding effects. Meanwhile the field studies were usually carried out in residential settings, and the crowding effect was studied by contrasting environments which differed in the level of density, or sometimes through intervention crowding effects created in the field settings. The examination of the effects of crowding involved task performance (or ongoing activities), feelings of stress and interpersonal behaviour.

Crowding as a stressor

Recent laboratory studies postulated that subjects exposed to high density would experience stress, confinement and anxiety. This proposition has been supported by certain studies while other studies found no such reactions. For example, Hutt and Vaizey (1966), examining the impact of different group sizes on children, found interference of the group size on on-going activity, and also found an increase in aggressivity and withdrawal in the children with an increase in group size. Loo (1972) reported a similar finding in his study: aggression and decreased social interaction were found in children exposed to a high density situation. Griffitt and Veitch (1971) found feelings of crowding, discomfort and stress, and anxiety in their subjects under high density conditions. Subjects were exposed to low density

situations (group of three to five persons with 13 square feet per person) or high density situation (12 to 16 persons with 4 square feet per person) under either cool or hot conditions. Those subjects in density situations reported more feelings of discomfort and negative judgement of the situation (under both cool and hot conditions). Also, Stokols, Rall, Pinner and Schopler's (1973) subjects who in the experimental session worked on several tasks in a small room (5 x 8 feet area) reported in the post-experiment questionnaire more feelings of crowded, confined and restricted conditions contrary to those subjects who worked in a large room (9 x 13 feet area). Several recent studies may be added to this series demonstrating that crowding leads to stress reactions. For example, in studies by Aiello, Derissi, Epstein and Karlin (1977) and Nicosia, Hyman, Karlin, Epstein and Aiello (1979), subjects exposed to crowding conditions exhibited stress reactions. These reactions have been demonstrated physiologically by increases in skin conductance level. In addition, Nicosia et al (1979) reported lower tolerance for frustration amongst crowded subjects in the post-experimental section. Some other studies did not find very strong personal reactions to crowding: for example, Freedman, Levy, Buchanan and Price (1972) placed subjects in four-person groups in either a large room or a small one where the subject worked on tasks requiring co'operation and co-ordination. The post experimental questionnaire completed by subjects revealed no stress effects of density. In the second run of the experiment, 6- to 7-person groups made judgements about hypothetical court cases in either dense room or uncrowded rooms over several-hour periods. Again there was no impairment of judgement in sentence given by either groups, and also they showed no stress effect. Sundstrom (1973), in his experiment manipulated density, intrusion and goal-blocking, and found relatively weak effects of population density. The high density condition was associated with

feelings of crowding but not with other forms of stress. A similar result to that of Sundstrom, with mild effects of crowding, was reported by Ross, Layton, Erichson and Schopler (1973); subjects expressed feelings of crowding but only a weak indication of nervousness or physical discomfort.

Effect of density on on-going activities

Another expectation, interference of density and crowding with on-going activities, has been examined by several researchers. Studies on short-term impacts of density and crowding found essentially no effect, whereas some studies found an after-effect of crowding on the post-experimental task performance.

Freedman, Klevansky and Ehrlich (1971) assumed impairment on examining the effect of immediate crowding on two types of task performance which involved several complex and simple tasks such as crossing out numbers on a sheet of paper (simple), naming a variety of uses for a shown object (complex). They found no effect of density on either type task performance. A second series of studies, by Freedman et al (1972) previously reported, also found no crowding effect on discussion and given tasks. Similar findings were obtained by Rawls, Trego, McGaffey and Rawls (1972), Sherrod (1974) who reported no effect of crowding on tasks requiring either simple or complex performance. However, Sherrod (1974), by utilizing Glass and Singer's (1972) paradigm of noise research, has found the after-effect of crowding in the form of post experiment task decrements (Glass and Singer's research is discussed in more detail on p 31). In the experiment, subjects worked in 8-person groups on various tasks in either a crowded room or an uncrowded room. One factor also manipulated was the perception of control over crowding as it was in the noise experiment. For this, he instructed 'crowded subjects' that they could

leave whenever they wished to. After an hour's work, subjects were taken to an uncrowded room and asked to proof-reading, solving puzzles (which were either solvable or non-solvable). There were no immediate effects of crowding on performance in the three groups in the experimental section. However, when later performances on proof-reading and solving puzzles were measured in terms of persistence of attempts to solve unsolvable puzzles, the effects of crowding showed itself. The group from crowded conditions (no perceived control) had the worst performance followed by the perceived control group (intermediate), whereas subjects from uncrowded conditions showed best performance. Thus, this study clearly showed the after-effect of crowding. Sherrod argued on his finding that crowding as a stressor does not necessarily cause deterioration in the performance, probably due to adaptive processes. Nevertheless, the effect of coping may gradually build up and shows itself in subsequent functioning. The other major finding in this research was that the group with no-perceived control over crowding was worst in the post experimental task compared to both control and perceived control groups. Sherrod explains this both in terms of helplessness and the input overload theory as Glass et al (1972) did. This is as follows: the no-perceived control group found the crowding overwhelming and inescapable and felt that they were at the mercy of their environment; they were powerless to affect the occurrence of the stressor. Such circumstances may be described as the psychological state of helplessness (Glass and Singer, 1972). While immediate psychological and physiological adaptation to crowding seems to occur, the cost of such adaptations was reflected in subsequent performance. Sherrod also explained this finding with regard to the input overload hypothesis: subjects with no-perceived control over crowding had to tackle an additional cost that was uncontrolability of crowding as compared to subjects with perceived control condition. Thus decrements in

the post-experimental condition (no-perceived group) were due to this effect.

The effect of crowding on inter-personal relationships

Research (in both laboratory and field settings) also examined the effect of a high level of density on inter-personal relationships: it was predicted by the research that individuals exposed to density would show reactions of less-liking, withdrawal, aggression and unhelpfulness towards others. Research findings suggest some negative relationships between density and inter-personal relations.

Griffitt and Veitch (1971)'s study, described earlier, found that subjects in dense rooms judged other hypothetical persons less favourably in a mock jury situation than those in less crowded rooms. In the field, Baum and Valins (1977) studied two groups of subjects who lived either in high density dormitories (corridor-design) or low densities (suite dormitories). Baum and Valinsargued that, relative to suite dormitories, the corridor dormitories were overloaded social environments. This analysis was confirmed by both the questionnaire and behavioural data. In subjective report measures residents in corridor dormitories compared to suite residents expressed a feeling that there were too many residents on their floor when interaction was not wanted. Later behavioural measures of two types of residents, consistent with their subjective report, confirmed the prediction derived from the overload hypothesis. Corridor residents were found to have lower thresholds of perceived crowding. Subjects from two types of arrangements were asked to place as many dolls as possible in simulated rooms as they could before feeling crowded. The result indicated greater sensitivity to crowding by those living in corridor designs as evidenced by a smaller number of figures placed in settings like leisure-type rooms, bedroom and lounge. The social behaviour of corridor and suite design

more clearly supported the overload explanation in the second round of experiments by the observation of increased non-social involvement and greater social distance. Subjects were taken to a waiting room for the next experiment. Observation showed that subjects from corridor designs sat further away from a confederate and each other, spent less time looking towards the confederate, and talked less with confederates compared to suite design residents. They were more withdrawn in social interaction as a result of exposure to dense environments.

Some other studies also reported similar effects to that of Baum et al (1977): corridor residents felt more helpless, acted more competitively, and perceived a higher degree of crowding and stress than did students living in accommodations of a different architectural variety (Baum, Aiello and Calesnick, 1978; Zukerman , Schmitz and Yosha, 1977). Another study which supported that crowding and density cause social withdrawal, in the form of unwillingness to help others, was that of Bickman, Teger, Gabrielle, McLaughlin, Berger and Sunaday (1973). They reported that high density dormitory students showed less helping behaviour, that is, mailing the letters dropped by experimenters on dormitory floors, addressed to a dormitory resident, in comparison with the medium and low density dormitory occupants. Also, 51% in low density dormitories considered their dormitory atmosphere to be cooperative, whereas 22% and 17% respectively in medium and high density had the same judgement. In dormitory-mate evaluation regarding liking others, 30% had positive feelings in the low density dormitory, whereas only 12% in high density showed such a feeling. Bickman et al's finding can be interpreted in a similar fashion to Baum and Valins (1977): the high density dormitory environments were more overloading relative to the low density ones and this showed up in the form of unwillingness to help other persons.

Some other studies reported no impact of density on interpersonal

relations. For example, Sundstrom (1973) reported no difference in liking for group members in dense versus uncrowded situations. Similarly Smith and Haythorn (1972) also found no evidence of hostility and withdrawal across low and high density situations.

In sum, then, the findings of laboratory research on crowding does not suggest crowding affects on-going activities, yet mediating factors are found to be important for the crowding effect. There was found to be some effect of crowding on feelings of stress measured by both physiological tests and self-reports taken by subjects. Also there is some effect of crowding on inter-personal social behaviour such as less-liking, aggressiveness, withdrawal and helpfulness. The important finding in the crowding research was the occurrence of the after-effect of crowding (see Sherrod, 1974). This laboratory finding seems to have an important implication for the findings from the field (residential). As already seen, the field studies reported annoyance, withdrawal from social contacts amongst residents of high density environments, possibly the after-effects of the constant effort of coping with the overload environment, or withdrawal response which was the coping strategy itself, resorted to as a result of constant experience in the high density environments. This interpretation might also be extended to the correlational studies' finding in the city environments. Constant exposure to density and crowding might lead to psychological and physiological deficiencies. Yet, as already seen, the available correlational studies are too full of methodological flaws to demonstrate this effect. While also the very control of the laboratory studies may be seen as a cost to their validity (Altman, 1975; Epstein, 1981). The first issue involves 'mundane realism' (Aronson and Carlsmith, 1969); that is how good laboratory studies were in creating experimentally a density setting that allows its effect to be captured. For example, in this present case (the laboratory studies of

crowding) a short period (one or two hours) of exposing subjects to the high density condition as well as temporary group relationships under laboratory conditions (Altman, 1975) may possibly suggest that subjects were able to cope readily with the situation. The other issue is the possible contaminating effects of the laboratory environment such as that producing apprehensive subjects, subjects' expectation and possible subject-experimenter interaction that all might have yielded artifacts in the results (Orne, 1962; Webb et al, 1966). The final point of a rather general nature is the problem of the generalizibility of all these laboratory findings over the naturally occurring crowding phenomenon. However, the field research just reviewed seems to overcome the two latter problems at the expense of losing some more precise information, and losing some control of possible contaminating variables, yet there is a sufficient degree of both control and realism to make this approach legitimate, while providing necessary data for the external validity of the laboratory studies. However, turning back to the implication of these researches for the original question that is 'whether increasing population in the city has any effect on urban social behaviour' seems to be difficult to answer at the present moment, due to several earlier mentioned complexities concerning density in urban environments, ie lack of any theoretical analysis which links density and crowding effects that urban residents may experience at several levels of social behaviour (Fisher, Baldassare and Ofshe, 1975; Baldassare and Fisher, 1977). Yet, if population increase in urban environments involves increase in density, then it may be predicted on the basis of the reviewed available evidence (although this is rather limited) that urban residents are influenced at several levels (social, psychological, physiological) by this feature in the city. However, these effects remain to be demonstrated.

Territoriality and privacy

There are two phenomena, territoriality and privacy, which are closely linked to density and crowding and possibly urban social behaviour (Altman, 1975; Sheflen and Ashcroft, 1976). A brief discussion along with a related review of territoriality and privacy will be undertaken to illustrate their significance for urban social behaviour. Territoriality refers to an individual's or group's tendency to personalize or mark areas and objects and claim propriety rights over these periods of time (Altman, 1975). Manifestation of such behaviour is analogous to that of animals but is not necessarily projected by coding which according to Martin (1972) ranges from olfactory-auditory to visual signals or markers. The role of these territorial markers, as Sommer and Becker put it, is that 'not only do they define what belongs to a person and what belongs to his neighbours, but also who he is and what it means to be a neighbour in the society'. In a more systematic fashion, according to Edney (1974), territorial markers serve as (a) a stimulator (clearly indicating boundary), (b) a security system, and (c) a contributor to sense of identity. In other words, these markers act as codes of conduct that regulate human social behaviour. Lyman and Scott (1967) identified four types of territories: public territories, home territories, interactional territories and finally body territory (personal space) that require different behavioural patterns for their regulation.

The importance of these territories, as suggested by Becker (1973), is that they satisfy important human needs and drives. Assumed violation, invasion or intrusion of territories would produce a situation in which the achieved privacy is less than desired privacy; this, in turn, may lead to an aversive outcome, such as upsets in a stable working social system or withdrawing, aggressive behaviour by an individual (Altman, 1975; Edney, 1974).

The concern here is the claimed territorial deformation in urban environment, for example Scheflen and Ashcroft (1976) emphasizing the territorial uncertainty that exists among urban dwellers, suggest the concept of uncustomary territorial forms and put the blame on population pressure in urban areas, which throughout time have caused deformation and decrease in urban living spaces. Newman (1973), in support of this idea (discussed further on p 53), puts forward the concept of 'defensible space' in which the territorial influential markers and defined areas of occupier influence are less clear. In such cases, Newman reported a higher rate of crime, and the disappearance of collective community actions. The definition of territoriality and its importance for human needs and the behavioural implication of its deformation in urban environment have been noted above. There are some experimental studies of territoriality which substantially supported the occurrence of aversive outcome as a result of one's losing control over his territory.

Sommer and Becker (1969) carried out a series of studies in which they observed marking (personalization) and defense responses as a reaction to possible loss of territory in libraries and cafeterias. With an increase in surrounding population pressure (the higher density), the more personal markers were used by students to reserve their territory. Efran and Cheyne (1974) focussed on the reaction accompanying invasion into temporary territories. Their subjects were asked to walk through stationary groups, and found that the moving invaders were emotionally affected by the experience, displaying subtle agonistic facial expressions during the invasion and giving negative mood ratings immediately afterwards on the questionnaire. Altman and Haythorn (1967) compared the behaviour of socially isolated dyads confined in a small room for ten days and non-isolated dyads who had access to outside people and facilities. They reported that the former showed withdrawal

from one another and tended to possess and use a particular locale (chair, table or bed) which was not intruded on by either other part. Additionally, Altman (1975), as a result of his review studies, noted that territorial behaviour may show a variance from one culture to another and that personality characteristics may affect territorial behaviour. For a review of literature and discussion on territorial behaviour, see Altman (1975) and Edney (1974).

Privacy

Another concept closely linked to crowding and territorial behaviour is that of privacy (Altman, 1975). In fact, it would seem that need of privacy is the exact opposite of crowdedness, thus it may also be assumed that this basic need would not be satisfied in a populous environment (ie in the city).

Privacy is defined as a phenomenon that maximises freedom of choice and behavioural options and thereby allows a person or group to have control over their activities (Proshansky, Ittleson and Rivlin, 1970) or, more generally, privacy is a selective control of access to self or to one's group (Altman, 1975). There exist several analyses of privacy and among them Westin's (1970) analysis is more systematic (Altman, 1975).

Westin provided a systematic analysis of privacy by categorizing four types and four functions of privacy. The first privacy is solitude, whereby a person is alone and free from observation by others and, as such, is in the most extreme condition of privacy. Intimacy, the second privacy state, occurs when a small group - eg a husband and wife - separate themselves from outsiders in order to be alone. Anonymity occurs when a person is "lost in a crowd"; he/she is in a public place with others present but does not wish to be recognized. The fourth state of privacy described by Westin is reserve: Westin also describes four functions of these privacy states. The first, personal autonomy, deals with the central core of self and the important issues of self release is a second function of privacy: it permits individuals to relax from social roles. Self-evaluation is another function of privacy acquired through occasional separation from others. The final function of privacy according to Westin is limited and protected communication. Privacy provides the opportunity to be alone with another person or a small group to share confidence with them.

The existing limited number of researches in the area of privacy assumed that if the desired privacy is violated an individual feels intruded upon, crowded, or overloaded (Altman, 1975). For example, Felipe and Sommer (1969) and Patterson, Mullens and Romano (1971) found that the closer an intrusion the greater the probability of flight and the greater the use of various behaviours such as glaring, leaning away, blocking by means of placing the hand in several positions and turning the body away from the invader. Additionally, eye contact was studied as a privacy regulator. It has been found that the closer the distance between people the less their eye contact (Goldberg et al, 1969; Mehrabian, 1969). Eye contact acts as a mechanism to maintain an appropriate level of privacy.

Privacy, in general, is negatively related to density and, in a situation where privacy is difficult to achieve (ie a highly crowded place), several specific coping strategies may be developed by individuals in order to achieve the desired privacy, as was the case in the above cited studies (Altman, 1975). Also, a differing level of the need for privacy was found across individuals, cultures, as well as related coping strategies for the desired level of privacy (see Altman, 1975, and Altman and Vinsel, 1977).

In summary, as already indicated, populous environments, in general, are found to be deficient in satisfying individuals' needs for both territorial space and privacy. Thus it may be expected that in city environments increasing population provides, in line with Scheflen and Ashcroft (1976), environments somewhat inadequate for fulfilling these basic needs of urban residents. This effect, however, again remains to be demonstrated.

1.4.2 Effects of noise in urban environments

One of the other stress-inducing qualities in the city has been shown (Glass and Singer, 1972; Cohen and Weinstein, 1981) to be noise. Noise is defined as an unwanted sound that is psychologically arousing

and harmful, subjectively annoying, or disruptive of performance (Anastasi, 1964; see in Glass and Singer, 1972). Noise that usually originates from ground transportation, construction work, factory, airplanes and crowd in the city has been depicted as so intense and overwhelming that many commentators on urban life allege that such a condition produces behavioural and physiological consequences inimical to the health and well-being of urban residents (Glass and Singer, 1972). Recently, many government and municipal authorities have been issuing circulars concerning codes for the noise level and task forces to impose this legislation in the urban environment. This seems to attest the fact that noise becomes the concern of the city residents and a possible damaging factor in health (Anderson, 1970; Walters, 1970).

Growing research evidence on noise, although by no means consistent, suggests some effect of noise on human performance and social behaviour, as well as suggesting some negative effects on human health as a function of prolonged exposure to noise.

Here a very selective review of noise research will be undertaken to illustrate this conclusion, and an attempt will be made to evaluate the implications of these researches for urban social behaviour. However, the interested reader should find more extensive literature in Glass and Singer, 1972; Broadbent, 1978, 1979; Cohen and Weinstein, 1981).

Noise and human performance

Existing data on the relationship between noise and performance suggest that effects depend on the kind of noise and type of performance (Cohen and Weinstein, 1981). Early research reviews on noise by Kryter (1970), Broadbent (1957), as well as the very recent ones of Cohen and Weinstein (1981), Broadbent (1978), concluded that there is no

compelling evidence showing adverse effects of noise on mental and psychomotor performance, in any task in which a person has to react only at certain definite times, or receives a clear warning of the need for reaction.

However, another body of systematic research by Glass and Singer (1972) and Cohen and Weinstein (1981) suggests that high intensity noise does have negative effects on performance when the task involved is of a complex nature, eg when the subject is required to maintain long term monitoring of dials, any of which may unexpectedly show a defect (Broadbent, 1979) or various visual monitoring tasks with auditory secondary tasks (Boggs and Simon, 1968; Finkleman and Glass, 1970). Explanation for this effect by Broadbent (1979) is that moderate and high intensity noise exposure causes an elevation in arousal. Heightened arousal, in turn, is said to lead to a narrowing of one's attention causing inputs that are irrelevant or partially relevant to task performance to be ignored. As arousal increases attention is further restricted and task relevant cues may also be neglected. But in some tasks proficiency demands the use of only a restricted range of cues so that such tasks improve with moderate narrowing attentional focus to the extent that competing cues are no longer noticed. However, in other tasks, proficiency demands use of a wide range of cues (eg dual-task performance or single tasks requiring the integration of information from many sources). In such a situation any narrowing of attention during such tasks is likely to affect performance adversely.

After effect of noise on human performance

Recent studies indicate that there are effects of noise on human performance occurring after noise exposure is terminated (see Cohen and Weinstein, 1981, and Glass and Singer, 1972, in their widely cited series of studies demonstrating this effect). Subjects were for

approximately 25-30 minutes in the laboratory under several noise level conditions, ie 56 dBA, 80 dBA, 108 dBA, and were asked to perform several kinds of tasks ranging from simple to complex. The findings were that generally high intensity noise did not impair the task performances. However, when subjects were instructed to perform complex tasks, ie work on two tasks at the same time or the use of continual vigilance on a tracking task, deterioration in the performance appeared under conditions that the noise was experienced was unpredictable, they performed the task less efficiently as compared with both the control group and subjects who were exposed to predictable noise. The authors explain this finding with the input overload phenomenon that unpredictability and uncontrollability of noise were extra stimulus variables, with which subjects should have to cope. Thus decrement in task performance was caused by too many of these incoming inputs that interfered with information processing by placing too much demand on the subject. Another important finding in this series of experiments was impairment in the post-noise behaviour if the noise had been unpredictable rather than predictable. Subjects in the post-noise experimental section were asked to complete solvable and unsolvable puzzles, while subjects who were previously exposed to unpredictable noise, in contrast to predictable noise, showed impaired task performance and lowered tolerance for post-noise frustrations. The authors explain this phenomenon with Seligman's (1969) notion of helplessness, as discussed in the crowding section of this chapter. Inescapable and unpredictable noise confronts the individual with a situation in which he is powerless to anticipate and influence the occurrence of the stressor. This produces a psychological state of helplessness that interferes with later functioning. According to Glass and Singer (1972), subsequent performance, after noise stimulation, is affected in a way that is consistent with prior experiences: the helplessness group (group which is exposed to

uncontrollable noise) not only experiences the aversion to unpredictable noise but also the anxiety connected with their felt inability to do anything about it, as compared to perceived control subjects who only experienced the stress of the noise itself.

Similar effects following exposure to unpredictable noises (varying from 80 to 100 dBA) have been reported by a number of investigators (eg Gardener, 1978; Rotton, Olszewski, Charleton and Soler, 1978; Sherrod, Hage, Halpern and Moore, 1977).

Field studies

Results of studies on the effect of noise on performance (both work and scholastic) carried out in the field, factories, offices and schools alike have shown results somewhat mixed and often difficult to interpret (see review of Broadbent, 1979; Cohen and Weinstein, 1981). Many of these studies compared a group of workers working in a noisy section of a factory or office to a second group working on the same task in an area recently made quieter through some sort of noise abatement technique. For example, Broadbent and Little (1960) (reported in Cohen and Weinstein's (1981) review study) found an improvement in work performance among plant workers who moved back and forth from noise treated to untreated parts of plants over a year. The rate of threading rolls of film onto machine showed improvement after noise abatement was completed, but the improvement was equally evident both during quiet and noise exposure.

Recent reviews of the field studies conducted in offices and factories (Broadbent, 1979) in general suggest no conclusive evidence that noise affects the average work rate. Broadbent points out, however, if accidents or errors caused by momentary inefficiency are important, it is likely that noise increases these hazards.

There are some few studies assessing the impact of noise on

scholastic performance. These studies ranged from examining immediate environmental noise on scholastic performance to a long term effect of noise on scholastic performance. For example, the two field studies reported in Cohen and Weinstein (1981) by increasing classroom noise level assessed the effects on students' behaviour and performance. Under noise conditions, Ward and Suedfeld (1973) observed less student participation and attention in the classroom, compared to a no noise control group. Another study, by McCroskey and Devens (see Cohen and Weinstein, 1981), found impaired auditory discrimination among school boys and girls assigned to an induced noise condition compared to children tested in classroom without additional noise.

Other groups of field studies examined the notion that prolonged exposure to noise may be related to deterioration in scholastic performance. These studies concerned the cumulative effects of noise on the learning process rather than the effect of noise measured within a relatively short period of noise or after the noise had ceased. For example, Cohen, Glass and Singer (1973) found that 54 children of elementary school age in a whole apartment house complex (high-rise) were subjected to a different degree of heavy expressway traffic and noise. The purpose of this field study was to test the notion that prolonged exposure to noise may be related to after-effects in the form of impaired performance on auditory discrimination and reading achievement tests. The finding was that children who lived four or more years in lower floor levels, as compared to higher floors, scored poorly in both auditory discrimination tests and reading achievement tests. This was not true for children who lived there less than four years. Later analyses showed a high correlation between these two scores of auditory discrimination and reading tests and, as the authors suggest, these two factors were related to the intensity of noise and length of exposure to it, even after controlling for the possible

effect of the social and economic class of the subjects.

A study reviewed in Cohen and Weinstein (1981) was carried out by Maser, Sorensen and Kryter (1978) who found that children of a school close to the airport showed a cumulative deficit in tested achievement compared to children in quiet control schools. Similarly, Bronzaft and McCarthy (1975) found that children in classrooms on the side of a school facing a railway performed more poorly on reading achievement tests than children in classrooms in the quiet side of the building.

In sum, there is increasing data on a noise effect on human performance that even persists outside noisy environments (Broadbent, 1979; Cohen and Weinstein, 1981). However, some of these studies involved children, mostly correlational. Explanation given for this noise effect is that, in general, noise interferes with the reading-learning process, thus resulting in a cumulative deficit. More specifically it is said that noise produces an influence on children's information processing strategy or their feeling of personal control and on their level of arousal (Cohen, Evans, Krantz and Stokols, 1980).

Noise and interpersonal social behaviour

Another by-product of noise research related to the present research is its negative impact on social behaviour, namely helpfulness, and community relationships in the field. The experimental work in this area has dealt with the relationship between noise and one's sensitivity towards others, especially the willingness to give both during and immediately following noise exposure. For example, Glass and Singer (1972), on one of the laboratory studies, examined the effects of noise on helping behaviour. Subjects were given the expectation that they would be exposed to either low intensity or high intensity noise or else given no expectation regarding noise level they were to be exposed to. Also subjects in the experimental section were

exposed to a 24-burst 108 dBA noise while performing a spatial relation task. Following completion of the task and several post experimental task measures, subjects were asked to volunteer for an unrelated experiment. Subjects who had expected a low intensity of noise were subsequently less helpful in that they volunteered somewhat less time than did those in the other two groups. Sherrod and Downs (1974) used Glass and Singer's experimental paradigm to examine helping behaviour and noise relationship. Subjects were required to perform complex tasks under the condition of either (a) overload (exposed to confusing auditory stimuli), (b) overload with perceived control (subjects were told if they wished they could have the auditory stimuli turned off), and (c) no-overload (exposed to shouting background sound). Following completion of the study and after leaving the laboratory, subjects were asked by another experimenter to do a favour by pre-testing some experimental materials (helping dependent measure). Subjects who exposed themselves during the experiment to uncontrollable confusing noise were significantly less helpful compared with the non-overload group. A third condition in which subjects were exposed to input overload which they believed they could control if they wished to resulted in an intermediate level of subsequent assistance.

Two similar studies have also demonstrated the overloading quality of the noise (under the immediate noise condition) which resulted in less helpfulness towards other persons who were in need. Matthews and Canon (1975), carrying out studies in both laboratory and field, found helping behaviour to be altered by variation in the noise level. In the laboratory, they compared the helpfulness (assisting another subject in collecting some dropped material) of subjects exposed to different levels of noise and found subjects significantly less helpful as the noise increased. This result was supported by the data obtained in the field study which examined the helping behaviour of sidewalk

pedestrians to an episode of dropped books with nearby (a) a very loud noise (muffler removed lawn-mower), or (b) a less-loud noise (ambient noise) present. Pedestrians, under the condition (a), were significantly less helpful. Moreover, in the field study there was one additional condition: the experimenter wore a cast on his arm - a subtle cue suggesting the legitimacy - versus no cast. This also contributed to the degree of need for assistance. A cast on the victim's arm increased helping under ambient conditions but did not affect the frequency of helping under noise. In line with Glass and Singer's contention, the authors interpreted the result as showing that noise produces overload which also leads to a restriction in attention deployment or cue utilization (cast arm) as part of the phenomenon, and resulted in unhelpfulness. Weiner (1976) also has demonstrated in the laboratory the same effect of overload on helping behaviour. Subjects' responses to a person suffering a small accident, under a high overload condition consisting of simultaneous tasks and sensory bombardment, were significantly less helpful as compared with subjects' responses in a low overload condition. Another recent study which examined the effect of noise on helping behaviour was carried out by Page (1977). In this field study in a university corridor subjects were confronted with a person who accidentally dropped a number of cards under the condition of (a) low noise (50 db), (b) moderate noise (80 db), and (c) high noise (100 db). It was found that (although statistically this did not reach a significant level) increase in noise level was parallelled with decrease in helping behaviour rendered by by-passers. In the second round two studies were carried out in the city by utilizing construction noise on a nearby building site (jackhammers). There were two noise conditions; low and high noise, and the helping measure involved response to a person who (1) dropped one of two packages, and (2) asked for change money. The results from both

settings showed that helping behaviour was significantly lower under high noise conditions. Furthermore, females were found to be less helpful than males under noise conditions.

A study carried out by Appleyard and Lintell (1972) in the field showed the effect of noise on various aspects of community relationships. They studied three residential streets in San Francisco and compared the differential effects of traffic noises in residents' social behaviour. On a street where traffic was dense and noise level high, they found little social interaction among neighbours, very little local social responsibility for the appearance of the street and also residents there reported a feeling of living in a restricted environment. The level of satisfaction was low; stress and withdrawal on the part of residents was common. This was attested by the high turnover among residents of the neighbourhood. A 'light' street, contrary to a 'heavy' one, enjoyed relative quieteness. Families with children tended to move on to this street, remain longer, and there was a sense of pride in how the street looked. Inhabitants formed a lively close knit community, had twice as many friends and three times as many acquaintances as the people on the 'heavy' street. Also, residents reported having experienced a much richer and more discriminating awareness of their environment. Naturally, however, in these three settings noise is only one of a number of variables involved which may be responsible for this outcome. Other factors such as a self-selection process (that is the most desirable conditions attract those who are prepared for this) and life style, family orientation and personality factors probably also contributed to differences found in the study. Nevertheless, noise-related variables as the authors suggested seem to have affected in a greater degree how residents perceived and used their streets. Another early study, by Jansen (1961) (reported in Kryter, 1970), found that steel workers in the noisiest work

environments had a higher frequency of social conflict at home and the plant as compared with those who worked in relatively quieter sections of the plant.

Noise and health

Several studies examined the impact of noise on health (physical and mental health). Although results are quite mixed and weak, existing studies suggest the possibility of a relationship between noise and symptoms of physical and mental health problems as a result of prolonged exposure to it.

A number of industrial, community survey studies (self-report), for example, reported that noise exposure results in increased anxiety, emotional stress, eg increased incidence of nervous complaints, nausea, instability, argumentativeness, sexual impotency and so on, as well as some physiological health troubles (eg heart trouble, hypertension, etc) (see the review studies of Cohen and Weinstein, 1981). By contrast, some other studies of the same kind have not offered this conclusion. For example, at home and in the plant, Rodda (1967) reports data from a survey of aircraft carrier crews which showed no evidence of higher incidence of mental disorders among this group as compared with military personnel who were not exposed to intense noise.

The relationship between hospital admission and noise has also been examined with the expectation that long-time noise exposure may lead to health problems (see the reviews of Glass and Singer, 1972; Cohen and Weinstein, 1981). Several studies relating sound level and mental hospital admissions have been conducted in the vicinity of London's Heathrow Airport. Wickrama, Brook, Gattoni and Herridge (1969) and Herridge and Chir (1972) compared the psychiatric hospital admission rates of those residing in noisy and less noisy parts of the same borough. Admission rates were higher for the noisy area; persons most

at risk were older single, widowed or separated women suffering from neurotic or organic mental illness. However, these results have been challenged by Chowns (1970) who argues that the noise index used was inappropriate and that noisy and less noisy (control) neighbourhoods were poorly matched on demographic factors. Later, this study was replicated by Gattoni and Tarnopolsky (1973) who, by using a different technique of indexing noise and matching the noise and control groups on a number of socio-economic variables, found similar but non-significant differences between noisy and quiet areas. A recent comparison of noise and control populations around Los Angeles Airport (Meecham and Shaw , 1977) indicates marginal increase in mental hospital admission among those living in very noisy areas, yet again, as Cohen et al (1981) indicate, there was a poor matching of variables potentially important between two study areas.

Additional physiological studies on noise have demonstrated that noise produces such physiological changes as 'cardiovascular, glandular and respiratory effects reflective of a generalized stress reaction' (Glass and Singer, 1972; Cohen and Weinstein, 1981). Other types of reactions include blood vessel constriction; the skin pales, the eyes close, breath is held and voluntary and non-voluntary muscles tense. For example, Jansen (1969) and Rosen (1970) found both during the noise and after cessation of repeated noise subjects showed physiological reactions such as constriction on blood vessels and this reaction persisted as much as 25 minutes after noise. These physiological findings are consistent with the notion that noise produces stress arousal, which in turn can have negative behavioural consequences.

Conclusion

The preceding review of noise literature suggests that, except in the case of very high-intensity noise, there is a general consistency

in the data that supports the conclusion that noise, per se, does not have adverse effects on behaviour. However, when the noise is coupled with mediating factors such as unpredictable or complex task, etc, it can become overloading and produces decrements in task performance, feelings of anxiety, nervousness, annoyance, inter-personal perception and social behaviour (ie helpfulness). More importantly, this effect also continues after noise cessation to affect performance and social behaviour. The immediate effect of noise is explained by Broadbent (1979), Glass and Singer (1972) and Cohen (1978) in terms of an input overload phenomenon, that is, beside task inputs (complex), the noise in the situation becomes still another input for the organism to monitor which inhibits adequate information processing necessary for the task performance. After-effects of noise are attributed to the cost of trying to cope with overload in the course of an adaptive process which leaves the individual less able to cope with subsequent environmental demands and frustrations.

Field studies examining the possibility of aversive effects of noisy environments on work and scholastic performance, social behaviour and health suggest some effects of noise, although these studies suffer from several methodological flaws (correlational and various potential variables have not been adequately controlled, etc). These field data are also consistent with the experimental studies of the after-effects of noise.

In fact, Glass and Singer (1972), departing from their findings, attempted to draw an analogy with urban environments: that noise in cities being unpredictable and inescapable may in the long-term have serious effects on urban residents' well-being and inter-personal social relationships. Yet, there are not sufficient adequately controlled field data; even the existing ones as already indicated should be treated carefully due to possible contamination of other factors.

1.4.3 Spatial characteristics of the urban environment as a determinant of social behaviour

Another element in the urban environment, the spatial characteristic, has attracted considerable attention as a possible determinant of social behaviour. The overall physical design of a city is often viewed on a very large scale; ie tall buildings, massive facades, canyon-like streets characterized by bland, monotonous stretches of buildings with little individuality (Alexander, 1968). Additionally, the spatial layout in an environment that channels working and living units towards each other can vary from utter privacy and isolation to a complete absence of boundaries and barriers. Finally design features within a unit (eg offices, rooms) may exert a significant influence on the social behaviour of its occupants.

In the following section, a brief review of literature on architectural design and social behaviour relationships will be undertaken, so as to evaluate the characteristics of architectural design and their possible effect on inter-personal behaviour in the urban environment.

Alexander (1968) viewed the massive architectural characteristics of a city as exerting influence on the individuals occupying that environment. Huge buildings stretching the length of four blocks may heighten the feeling of impersonality and personal insignificance for the person in such an environment. The unchanging, monotonous outlook of the architectural environment which often characterizes housing projects and office building districts (Jacobs, 1961) may result in boredom and apathy in the occupants of this environment.

Lynch (1960) studied the psychological impact of cities on their occupants at a cognitive level. The question he was concerned with was 'What were the features of special importance which gave that area (city) its imageability?'. Imageability (or legibility) was defined as an aspect of visual quality or image that can be organized into a

coherent pattern. He investigated this question in studies on several cities (Boston, New Jersey, Los Angeles) in which he asked native residents to draw a map of their city. He found that cities lack legibility for their occupants and he suggested that this may inhibit individual growth, emotional security and the full development of the potentials of human experience.

Lynch's techniques were used by Jonge (1962) and Gulick (1963), and a somewhat different version of it by Lee (1968) to link large scale environmental features to the social behaviour of individuals. Yet, studies in the area seem to be premature in attempting to demonstrate this effect. Probably this is due to methodological difficulties that are inherent in research in this area. For example, in such an endeavour locales differ in their architectural qualities: they also often differ in numerous other dimensions which represent alternative explanations for any behavioural differences that occur, and there seems almost no way of isolating the separate effect of a large scale architectural quality. However, Lynch's technique of measuring the subjective responses of an individual to his environment seems to be a promising one for future research.

As compared with studies evaluating the influence of large scale urban architectural environments, relatively more research has been concerned with smaller scale architectural design. This falls into two categories: (1) one that concerns the influence of various types of living arrangements and work units (house, apartments, high rise, offices) within the immediate physical context, and (2) another that examines the influence of various features of interior space (room, furniture arrangement). These two areas of research are so abundant, some falling into areas of density and crowding, that the present review of literature will be limited only to those studies which evaluate the significance of architectural and design variables on

urban social behaviour. More detailed and complete reviews can be found in Ittleson, Proshansky, Rivlin and Winkel (1974), Mercer (1975), Proshansky, Ittleson and Rivlin (1970), Altman and Wohlwill (1977), Holahan (1978), Michelson (1976) and Zimring (1981).

The study of the influence of various types of living arrangements (house, apartment house, high-rise, offices) has basically been concerned with the hypothesis that the patterns of social interaction are partly determined by architectural and design features as well as the orientation of individuals in these environments. For example, a possible influence of physical proximity, the entrance arrangements which create the degree of mutual exposure to residents, the proximity of backyards, drive-ways in single home neighbourhoods and playgrounds in apartment buildings, have been examined by a number of studies. Alexander (1968), in his influential article, pointed out the architectural design features of dwelling in the city as responsible for sustaining intimate interactions and relations. As a solution, he proposed a type of design for homes with particular geometric characteristics which would generate a high level of casual visiting between friends and acquaintances. The most commonly cited studies which demonstrate the influence of spatial arrangements of dwelling units on a pattern of social contacts are those by Festinger, Schachter and Black (1950). Festinger et al (1950) studied a housing development for married post-graduate ex-servicemen studying at the MIT. These (married) students occupied two types of dwellings: (a) a two floor re-converted navy barracks (West-Gate-West), and (b) semi-detached, prefabricated bungalows (West-Gate) arranged in a number of U-shape courts. The West-Gate-West buildings were sub-divided so as to provide five apartments on each of the two floors within each building; access to each apartment was from an outdoor balcony or porch rather than from any central hallway. The researchers sought to answer the question of to what extent the environmental

factors influenced the pattern of friendship in these two different types of housing and whether different influences work in West-Gate and West-Gate-West.

In West-Gate the factor most clearly influencing friendship formation was the physical distance between the front doors of housing units. The closer the distance between front doors, the more likely it was that people formed close friendship, and especially people made more friends with others who lived in the same residential court. Considering that the residents had no selection of their dwelling units in the West-Gate housing development, residents established their personal contacts with those who lived closest to themselves. This clearly shows the importance of the architectural design factors' influence in this context. Moreover, the authors discovered that the friendship had consequences in the life of the West-Gate community. The opinions that people held on local issues were a function of close friendship. The more intense the friendship relationships in any given court were, the less likely it was that any of the residents of that area would have deviant opinions on a given local issue. The other interesting finding reported by the authors was the concentration of most people who were likely to hold a deviant opinion occupying the area of houses on the courts that did not face inwards towards the court but, being as it were on the end of the U-shape, faced outwards towards the road. Possibly it was more difficult for this group to exert influence on other residents (possibly low contacts and thus a lower probability of friendships).

In West-Gate-West (two floor-apartment houses), space was equally influential on friendship formation. However, a different unit of distance, 'functional distance' as well as physical distance, contributed to friendship formation in West-Gate-West. Physical distance was defined as an amount of space separating two neighbouring doorways,

while functional distance was measured in terms of the number of passive contacts that were encouraged by the design of a building and the positional relationships among a group of houses. On the basis of physical distance alone in West-Gate-West, it might be assumed that people who lived in the same apartment on the first floor and second floor would have somewhat equal opportunity to form friendship in the corresponding apartments on their respective floors, and furthermore, on the basis of physical distance alone, one would not expect differences in total number of friendships made by all those on the first floor as opposed to the second floor.

However, in West-Gate-West the second floor residents could not exit from the building in any direction they wished. They were forced to exit via one of the two possible paths, by the stairways at either end of the balcony. This situation brought the second floor residents past the doors of certain residents of the first floor and resulted in contacts and friendships with a few residents of the first floor. Thus, the patterning of people's movement as opposed to the simple separation between doors led to distinctions in the friendship patterns of residents of the first and second floor in West-Gate-West.

Another major endeavour in this area was undertaken by Kuper (1953) on a housing project in Coventry in England, who studied neighbourly contacts. Each building in this housing development contained two garden apartment units. They were arranged in such a way that living rooms and main bedrooms were only separated from their counterparts next door by a relatively flimsy partywall, which allowed for a significant amount of unintentional impingement between building residents on each other. This situation caused a great deal of embarrassment and annoyance among both party occupants. As a small walkway separated buildings, each unit having a separate entrance on the front street, as well as an entrance from the walkway, each housing apartment

had two adjacent neighbours, one through the wall and sharing the same building, and one in the next building across a small walkway where each had entrance. The question that was investigated by Kuper was whether there was any difference in the pattern of social contact between these two types of neighbours that could be attributed to housing arrangements. Kuper found that the physical design exerted a definite influence on the neighbourly contact: more frequent and intense relations occurred with neighbours who lived across the walkway rather than those who lived on the other side in the same building.

Another study by Whyte (1956) examined the influence of the spatial factors in a suburban community on neighbourly relationships over three years. Whyte mapped houses' occupants which had been involved in social activities and found that the activities were among those persons whose homes were quite close to one another. Whyte studied the same housing area three years later, and by that time there had been a large turnover among residents. However, the later study yielded a similar result to the previous study; the same houses were socialized and got together.

Finally a recent study by Nahemow and Lawton (1975) has also demonstrated the determinantal effect of proximity on friendship formation among residents of Dickman high-rise housing projects in New York city. A total of 270 respondents from the housing project containing seven buildings stated that 88% of their first chosen friends lived in the same building as they did themselves and nearly half lived on the respondents' own floor. The effect of proximity was affected a little by age and sex and race of the respondents.

However, Gans' (1967) study of Levittown, New Jersey, failed to confirm the expected effect of spatial determinism on patterning social relationships, which has been suggested by studies reported above. Gans compared the friendship and socializing pattern of Cape-Code style

and Ranch-type house residents who should have chosen their right-hand and across-the-road neighbours most often due to their house design, to those occupants of Colonial-style houses who should have chosen their left-hand and across-the-street neighbours. The finding was that the Cape-Code residents visited most often across-the-street neighbours and with identical frequency left and right hand neighbours, while the Ranch occupants chose left-hand neighbours twice as often as their other neighbours, and the Colonial occupants, although inclined slightly for the left-hand, visited equally the left- and right-hand neighbours. Gans with this data somewhat repudiates the notion of the effect of spatial design, and attributes the formation of social relationship to social factors, ie homogeneity. Gans' (1967) findings can be questioned on a number of grounds, ie he does not give clear descriptions of the settings, and houses; thus it is not clear whether a bias in design involved both physical and functional distance and whether any design factors were available to explain the clear left neighbour bias obtained for occupants of ranch houses (Mercer, 1975; Korte, 1976). Yet, this finding leads to the question of whether proximity and spatial design characters are sufficient to explain the presumed relationship between proximity and social relationships. Another question is 'under what conditions and to what extent can the spatial determinism explain variance in social relationships?'. However, it seems important to take into account certain conditions before interpreting the data as confirmation or disconfirmation of spatial determinism. For example, if dwelling unit occupants have been free to choose the housing they occupy, which was the case for Whyte (1956) and possibly for Gans (1967), then this means that residents have chosen housing locations fitting their pre-conceptions about preferred patterns of neighbourly contacts. However, this self-selection phenomenon seems to account only for the degree of sociability that characterizes the occupants of a particular

locale (ie a person having familistic orientation chooses, say, the surburban environment), but not the pattern of this sociability (eg whether it occurs more with right side neighbours versus left side). Thus this self-selection phenomenon increases the significance of studies such as Festinger et al (1950) and Kruper (1953) where residents received housing on an assigned basis and they were homogeneous in many ways. For example, MIT West-Gate-West and West-Gate residents were war-veterans, university students doing mostly engineering study and similar in age, while Kuper's subjects were all working class and had probably a great deal of commonality in corresponding, values and aspiration in both cases. Homogeneity, then, has been singularly common to the studies cited that show spatial variables as responsible for patterning relationships. Thus these studies, by controlling homogeneity, seem to rule out possible influence of social variables which may have been in operation in their absence. Thus it follows that homogeneity may be a necessary condition for the operation of spatial determinism. Also, Gans (1967) has pointed out another phenomenon in relation to spatial proximity and homogeneity. He observed from his field community studies that the influence of proximity on social contact is limited to the early stages of community settlement when large numbers of new occupants are moving in. But, later on, in the further development of social relationships, neighbours were determined by other factors, ie values, backgrounds, orientation which according to Gans eventually replace propinquity as the primary determinants of social relationships in a neighbourhood.

In fact Newcomb (1961), in his classic study of the acquaintance process, empirically demonstrated the phenomenon that occurred in a similar way as Gans suggested; Newcomb found that proximity in the university dormitory was important as a precursor to friendship only insofar as it promoted readiness of communication. However, in the

later stage, homogeneity (similarity in values, interest and orientation) leads to the further development of friendship.

In sum, then, the spatial determinism is likely to be operative for social behaviour in settings of high population homogeneity (Festinger et al, 1950; Kuper, 1953). Yet, the failure to find the spatial proximity effect has also occurred in a high population homogeneity setting (Levittown, by Gans, 1967). Except for these data, the present state of knowledge about spatial determinism is very limited. There is need for data collected from a greater variety of situations on the effect of spatial proximity on social behaviour.

From the perspective of the present concern, that is the urban environment, only a few studies, apart from Nahemow and Lawton (1975), are available for locales of high urbanization. The urban housing project of Nahemow et al (1975) involved high-rise apartments where functional distance is made far more complex by the design features; 14-storey, each floor connected by lifts, stairs, single and double loaded corridors, and multiple entrances and exits: as opposed to the accessibility and mutual exposure provided by proximity in suburban housing areas. Also much of mutual exposure created by spatial proximity in suburban settings occurs in private settings such as lawns, drive-ways and backyards where lingering, relaxing and chatting is perceived appropriate, in contrast to the space separating neighbours in urban settings which are usually corridors and lounges of apartment buildings where lingering is seen as less appropriate (Reed, 1974). In addition to these physical characteristics of urban public housing projects, as many researchers reported, there exists a significant level of perceived heterogeneity and dissimilarity among the residents of such housing projects in the city (Young and Willmott, 1962; Hartman, 1963). Taking these points together, given the prominence of apartment living in the city, it may be that the spatial proximity is less of a determinant or

it may operate together with other factors, for example homogeneity, in influencing social behaviour in the city.

Spatial proximity is not the only feature of architectural design that might have consequences on social behaviour. For many critics, architecture's greatest impact comes through the introduction of new building types; the high-rise characterizing the major part of the city environments. The general attitude about this housing design is rather negative; that the high-rises do not encourage community development and its structures lack defensible space thus making it prone to crime and vandalism. As earlier cited, Alexander (1968), in his article on 'the city as a mechanism for sustaining human contact', by emphasizing the new type of architecture (the high-rise) has strongly suggested that urban design makes enduring social relationships between people extremely difficult. According to Alexander, spontaneous 'dropping-in' between friends, considered as essential to the development of an intimate relationship, is difficult because of the problem of reaching a friend's place with speed and ease. Alexander proposed a revolutionary solution to this situation which consisted of innovative residential urban design which he felt would encourage social relationships. His proposal is highly provocative and has yet to be tested in a real environment.

Empirical studies which contrast the high-rise and the low-rise living in social relationships are very few in number, and the data are by no means always in support of the stereotype that the high-rise residents are more likely to be isolated from their neighbours or less likely to be involved in patterns of mutual aid. A study by Stevenson, Martin and O'Neill (1967) examined interpersonal social relationships in the two types of housing environments (the high-rise of 20 storeys versus the low-rise of four storeys) in Melbourne, Australia. The survey study among residents of the two types revealed a considerably

greater amount of mutual help exchange and socializing between the low-rise occupants as compared to those in the high-rise. Almost 80% of residents in the low-rise reported that their best friends came from their own housing project, compared to less than a half that reported this in the high-rise residents. In a similar way, the low-rise residents reported a higher level of help exchange or aid, ie borrowing things, and taking care of sick neighbours, than did the high-rise residents. Another study by Bickman, Teger, Gabriele, McLaughlin, Berger and Sunaday (1973), which has already been discussed in the density and crowding sections, can be cited as evidence that provides confirmation of the negative effect of high-rise living. The data (on behaviour helpfulness measures, ie the lost letter and milk cartons donation measures and the survey questionnaire concerning helpfulness) was collected from 22 storeys, 4-7 storeys and 2-4 storeys arrangements. The students who lived in the high-rise (22 storeys) were found the least helpful in behavioural measures, as well as in the questionnaire measures concerning social responsibility towards their environment in the dormitory as compared with the medium that followed the second and the low-rise dormitory residents respectively. However, the existence of other factors, especially differing population density of dormitories, make the high-rise variable unviable as a sole explanation for the differences in helpfulness found in the three types of environments, probably both factors contributing to this result. Again, the importance of utilization of multiple measures in such environmental research appear to be vital to establish a possible correlation with a specific feature and dependent variables.

Contrary to expectation, Ashton's (1976) study found no differences between residents of 15-17 storey, 4-6 storey and 2 storey buildings on various measures of neighbourly relations and orientation towards neighbours as a source of help in Dundee, Scotland. A recent

study (Huismans and Korte, 1976) examined the frequency of mutual aid in the Amsterdam high-rise project (in Bijlmermeer). A total of 122 residents of a 10-storey building were interviewed about recent occurrences of mutual help and their attitudes toward seeking help from other personal sources (neighbours, friends, family) versus institutional voluntary organizations. The data indicated that family, friends and neighbours respectively were seen as the prime sources of help by residents as opposed to voluntary organizations, indicating the existence of personal relationships that disconfirm the assumption that such an environment leads to isolation and withdrawal from inter-personal relationships. However, it is difficult to interpret the findings of this study in the absence of a comparative environment, ie the low-rise housing situation.

An exhaustive study, correlating wider aspects of social behaviour (especially crime) and the two types of public housing, high-rise and low-rise, was carried out by Newman (1973), a study discussed earlier in the density and crowding section. Newman, as a result of his study in Brownsville (low-rise) and Van Dyke (high-rise) housing projects in New York city, found the higher degree of crime rate and vandalism in the high-rise housing of Van Dyke. Given the same density and a number of social characteristics of residents in the two housing areas, the low-rise (Brownsville) residents reported greater satisfaction living in their neighbourhood. Newman attributed these differences to the high-rise structures lacking defensible space and the non-proprietory behaviour and attitudes fostered by space. He identified four factors that may have accounted for these differences; these were differences in territoriality, natural surveillance, image and milieu between the two housing projects. The low-rise tenants have a greater territorial sense, that is provided by the design of the buildings. They are adjacent to one another as opposed to the high-rise occupants and, as

a result, the residents in the low-rise environments are likely to exercise a proprietory attitude toward their living space and to know their neighbours. Surveillance also is achieved through all parts of the low-rise building project being easily visible, whereas the high-rise project does not allow this visibility to its residents; the existence of lobbies, lifts, long corridors, fire stairs in the high-rise project give easy access to intruders, and criminals whose actions may not be observed. The third factor Newman suggests is the image, for example, the low-rise project creates a better response on the part of its residents to the physical ordering of their lives, and also encourages personal involvement. Newman's fourth factor is the milieu that is referred to housing project's relation to locations; whether the housing development is integrated to compatible areas which do not offer continual threats. As has been seen, these assumptions have only been confirmed indirectly by data which correlate high crime rates with indefensible space, a relationship Newman argues that is mediated by the low involvement of the residents. Although, however, Newman's explanatory model has yet to be tested directly, it offers the advantage of specifying concrete factors that link a particular building type to particular patterns of social behaviour. The dramatic example of Pruitt-Igoe, a high-rise public housing project occupied by working class people in St Louis, seems to provide support to Newman's argument for defensible space. This high-rise housing was built at a time when a slum clearance program was being promoted by the government. However, some of the buildings in this housing project were demolished after only two decades of occupancy due to extreme levels of crime and vandalism (Yancy, 1971). The often suggested characteristics of this housing project that had led to this social consequence were the design of buildings; high-rise, and a site plan that failed to provide the proper kind of space for the development of social networks and relationships.

There were few places for residents to meet and form friendships. In contrast to a lack of semi-private, societal space, there were extensive public hallways and grounds difficult to be supervised by both authorities and parents, breeding vandalism and misbehaviour among youngsters. By reason of the sheer scale of the housing complex (minimal landscaping and general isolation from the surrounding neighbourhood), residents failed to develop a sense of belongingness to the project at any level. Although the Pruitt-Igoe housing project seems to support Newman's argument, without a comparative study with another housing project with a similar population and administration by the housing authorities it is difficult to attribute these consequences entirely to the effect of architectural design. An additional study by Holahan (1978) is worthy of mention in that it nicely illustrates the effects of certain design features on social behaviour among users of these environments. Holahan examined unobtrusively, by employing behavioural mapping techniques outdoors, activities of residents of three types of housing estates in an inner city working class neighbourhood in New York city. The three housing projects involved were the traditional type of high-rise housing, the innovative type of high-rise and low-rise tenement houses and these three types of housing projects were comparable in many respects, ie density, racial composition, income level and the length of residency. Although the traditional high-rise and the innovative high-rise housing were similar in a number of features, ie each had 16 and 18 buildings of up to 14 floors, and amount of available outdoor space was comparable for both projects, the two projects differed markedly in outdoor design. For example, the traditional project had grassy areas that were fenced off to prohibit tenant use and a few playgrounds with minimal and badly deteriorated equipment and rows of benches along the asphalt entrance ways, whereas the innovative project boasted a modernistic and aesthetically pleasing

outdoor environment. Benches were restricted to a central area as opposed to peripheral entrance ways in the traditional project; and a grassy area with outdoor tables, benches open to residents, and a modern playground with various items of equipment. It was found that the low-rise and the innovative high-rise project residents involved more socializing than the traditional high-rise. Furthermore, unexpectedly the innovative high-rise residents were more active in socializing than the low-rise; this was presumably due to design features of this type of building that was successful in creating functional space for residents, and bringing residents into contact (Holahan, 1978). This study is rather significant in pointing out that some alteration in design features of the high-rise might make this building environment responsive for the development of social relationships among its residents. However, a firm conclusion based on this single study seems to be premature, and further research is needed.

Social behaviour may be influenced by the design features within a unit, ie the arrangement of rooms, and furniture and walls within a room. Osmond (1970) classified the physical arrangement of spaces in terms of their potential encouragement of sociability among their users, and identified two types of spaces - sociofugal and sociopetal. In sociofugal spaces, arrangements are such as to repel social interaction (eg, a waiting room with long hard benches that are usually found in typical train and bus station waiting rooms), whereas in sociopetal space arrangements are such as to encourage social interactions and involvements (eg waiting room with round table) and may possibly lead to the development of social relationships. Extensive reviews of this research can be found in Proshansky, Ittleson and Rivlin (1970), Sommer (1969), Lee (1976) and Mercer (1975). However, from the perspective of the present concern, we must ask whether the interior design of arrangements are relevant to the understanding of urban social behaviour. In

other words, does the character of the within-unit design in urban environments differ from that of the less-urban environments in leading to the differences in behaviour between the two environments? This appears to be a dubious possibility, and it is a question that cannot be answered at the present time. However, the large scale of urban design may be parallelled by interior space that is equally large-scale, ie airports, stores, theatres, offices and lobbies. These designs in the city might have consequences on social behaviour in some indirect ways. For example, Sommer (1969) argued that airport terminals, stores, shops, cafe-shops and bars have the character of sociofugal space that does not provide an intimate environment for socializing. At another level the impact of interior design in the urban environment which might be expected from an analysis of urban living is that if urbanites allocate their time differently so that a greater proportion of their time is spent in settings which are in sociofugal space, ie office, transportation, shopping, waiting line, etc, then there could be a cumulative effect of such a pattern on time allocation (Korte, 1978). This is rather a speculative suggestion, nevertheless it may offer an idea for future research in the area which aims to link the social effects of interior design to the social effects of living in an urban environment.

In summary, this brief analysis of the possible influence of urban architectural design on urban social behaviour seems to lead to several conclusions. First of all, there is evidence that the patterns of social behaviour are affected by the architectural features that establish the functional distance between units but, with regard to the question whether this applies equally well to urban environments, it seems rather questionable since, for example, the prime condition for the operation of propinquity (the determining effect on functional distance) is evidenced in the homogeneity or at least perceived

homogeneity among residents. However, in the presence of evidence that some urbanites view their neighbours as being quite dissimilar from themselves (Hartman, 1963), the operation of the propinquity might be expected to occur in a complicated way in influencing social behaviour. A limited number of studies examined the effect of typical urban dwellings (the high-rise) apartment building where numerous factors may preclude the influence of spatial proximity and mutual exposure, for example the public space where residents see each other is stigmatized as an inappropriate context for interaction (Newman, 1973; Reed, 1974). Architectural features in the city may produce change in social behaviour, such as either social isolation or high levels of sociability. However, it is important that self-selection factors may play an important role in this phenomenon, ie individuals with certain life styles would seek environmental design that produces the desired pattern. Such a choice actually reveals an implicit belief in the social consequences of residential design, yet the empirical demonstration of such consequences seems rather a difficult research problem. It may seem that an explanation of urban social behaviour may also lie in the total of architectural characteristic of an urban environment, ie monotonous huge buildings, total design of city and aesthetic quality. Lynch's (1960) research indicates the strong subjective reactions to building environments, and further research could explore the behavioural consequences of large-scale architectural variation.

1.4.4 Structural differentiation in the city and its behavioural consequences

The present section reviews evidence which indicates that the sheer population size of urban environments has important social and psychological consequences. As has already been discussed, size, along with density and population heterogeneity, were the characteristics

which Wirth (1938) distinguished as 'definition of urbanization'. Of these three factors, the impact of density has attracted more attention and commentary, and evidence accumulated in this area (see the section on density and crowding review) suggests some possible effect of it, yet a growing body of evidence suggests that population size may be a more critical variable. However, considering the argument that the primary change in human habitat caused by recent growing urbanization is connected with the population size, not primarily by density and heterogeneity, these two factors seem to be end-products of the process (Sadalla, 1978) of population concentration. Then, population size may be seen to be an important variable.

In the present section an answer to the question 'What are the social and behavioural consequences of a large population's concentration into a small geographical area (the city)?' will be sought by emphasizing the socio-structural variables. However, the line of analysis to be pursued is based on the premise that increases in the size of population groups (eg the city) influence the social structure of these groups in a way that has psychological and behavioural consequences.

One approach to the analysis of population size and density starts with the assumption that human groups have specifiable structural proprieties and these proprieties tend to change whenever group sizes change. In this analysis, any social structure as it increases in size also increases in complexity and heterogeneity. This model was first suggested by Darwin for animal and plant communities then applied by Spencer (1892) to human societies in a later period. However, the most influential position concerning structural differentiation was developed by Durkheim (1947) in his book 'The Division of Labor in Society'. Durkheim, along with Spencer, recognized the correlation between population size and heterogeneity of roles in a society. However, his

analysis differed from that of Spencer in that population size was a necessary but not sufficient condition for structural differentiation.

Before going into the structural differentiation analysis, it seems important to clarify the meaning of structural differentiation, as it applies to human societies. In undifferentiated societies, for example a hunting gathering society, individual members show very few differences in terms of social roles: differences are generally organized around age and sex distinctions. Most members of this type of society are engaged in the same kind of activities, eg collecting, hunting, fishing, etc, while Spencer (1892) and Durkheim (1947), as well as Wirth, have noted that industrial and urban societies have been developing immensely different complex forms. In the urban society social structure was observed to be based on an interdependence of specialized parts. Members of such a society engage in various types of activities that produce and exchange goods and services. Differentiation occurs not only at an individual level but at a group level. For example, some large groups engage in production of some specialized product or services (see Sadalla (1978) for more discussion). However, these social unities in a complex society (ie urban) are structurally distinct from each other but taken together are functionally equivalent to the original unit. Taken together the structural differentiation analysis suggests that there exists a strong tendency for a large aggregation of individuals to form distinct sub-groups. As will be seen later, this tendency constitutes an explanation for several behavioural parameters in the city environments, for example crime, deviance, artistic creation, etc (Fisher, 1976).

As has been already discussed, Wirth (1938), in his analysis of urbanization, suggested that structural differentiation leads to a different pattern of social interactions. In non-urban places where roles are relatively undifferentiated, individuals interact with one

another on the basis of multiple roles and in multiple settings, and individuals know one another as individuals. Whereas, in the city, roles are more differentiated, specialized and segmental where this situation eventually leads individuals to interact on the basis of role. Structural differentiation, according to Wirth, produces single role relationships and fosters a greater degree of anonymity among individuals in the city. Meanwhile, according to Durkheim, the antecedents of structural differentiation are interaction and competition. If there is high interaction among large and dense concentrations of individuals there will be increased competition for resources, and division of labour will emerge as a method of reducing direct competition. Role differentiation is a social solution which increases the number of successful competitors.

There are studies (reported in Sadalla, 1978) which found a strong relationship between social role differentiation and community size. For example, Gibbs and Martin (1962) indicated a very high correlation between level of urbanization and the degree of economic role differentiation, and the same trend was reported also by Keyes (1958). It seems clear that there is a linear relationshipsbetween community size and structural differentiation; the larger the size, the higher is the level of structural differentiation. A growing body of evidence suggests that there are several behavioural consequences of structural differentiation in populous environments (city). In the next section a review of these hypothesized behavioural outcomes together with related hypotheses will be given. They are anonymity, deviance and personality development.

Anonymity

As will be recalled, Wirth (1938) suggested that urbanites tend to meet one another in highly segmented roles. He characterized

relationships in urban environment as secondary rather than primary by saying 'contacts between urban dwellers may indeed be face-to-face, but nevertheless are superficial, impersonal, transitory and segmental'. According to Wirth, although urbanites are more dependent upon other people for their needs, they are less dependent upon particular people, and their dependence upon other people is limited to specific role-related aspects of the others' activity. In other words, in the city, 'others' are dealt with as role occupiers rather than as individuals, while in the non-urban environment - which is more homogeneous - others are treated as individuals. Thus this situation in the city, according to Wirth, leads to a greater degree of anonymity. This role based relationship is described by Goffman as impersonal, involving the concept of non-person. This defines a category of persons who during social encounters are treated as if they are not present although in fact they may be indispensible for carrying out the performance. However, as already seen, there is a contradicting view to this by Gans (1962), who argues that urbanites have many close, intimate relationships in many contexts: at home, in the neighbourhoods, and at work, as non-urban dwellers. At the present moment empirical evidence with regard to this theoretical controversy, as will be seen in the next chapter, is rather slim for formulating any definite conclusion, yet what seems to distinguish life in large heterogeneous cities is that city dwellers are frequently present in places where they are unknown or anonymous.

The greater anonymity present in public settings in large populous cities has been linked to a variety of social behaviours. This behaviour includes non-conformity, aggression, crime and deviance. Anonymity as a phenomenon and its psychological state recently has been formulized by Zimbardo (1969). According to Zimbardo, a state of anonymity (physical state) creates a psychological state of de-

deindividuation that may lead to anti-social and anti-normative behaviours. Deindividuation is characterized by a lessened awareness of self and decreased concern about the evaluations of others and thereby to a lowered threshold of normally restrained behaviour. De-individuated persons are assumed to be more willing to break rules and engage in unusual behaviour, ie aggression, vandalism, rule breaking, because group approval and disapproval is less respected.

A number of field and laboratory studies have been tested, and the results have supported this model. For example, Zimbardo (1969), to explore this hypothesis in his frequently cited study, purchased two cars and left them on public streets with hoods open and number plates removed. One was left near the Bronx campus of New York city University, the other was left in Palo Alto, California, near to Stanford University, and both cars were observed continuously for 64 hours. Zimbardo reports that within ten minutes the car in New York began to be vandalized, and within the next following three days the car was stripped of all removable parts and left a useless metal carcass. In contrast, the car in Palo Alto was left untouched, and none of these incidents occurred. Zimbardo explains these differences in New York city and California in terms of the social anonymity that is present in New York city.

Several studies in line with Zimbardo's formulation supported an anonymity and anti-social behaviour relationship. Cannavale, Scarr and Pepitone (1970) replicated Festinger, Pepitone and Newcombe's (1952) study of deindividuation in a small discussion group. Confirming Festinger et al's findings, the study found that under group anonymity conditions the members were unable to remember who had made certain statements in the discussion and also a relatively larger amount of hostile feelings and sentiments were expressed than in the control group. Deiner, Fraser, Beaman and Kelem (1976) observed stealing

behaviour in two groups of children who concealed their identity by means of costume versus non-anonymous (identifiable). They found more children who concealed their identity by means of costume (anonymous) stealing candy and money than children who had their identities established prior to this act, although they were all told not to. Exceptionally the study of Diener (1976) which tested Zimbardo's proposition of a deindividuation (including anonymity) aggression relationship under laboratory conditions failed to find any differences in aggression between anonymous and non-anonymous groups.

A final study of the anonymity-aggression relationship is offered by Watson (1973) who found a high correlation between aggression and anonymity as a result of analysing anthropological data available on a number of cultures. Watson classified cultures into two groups according to their level of aggressiveness which they had shown during war. He used such behaviour as killing, torturing or mutilating the enemy for this classification, and then examined the degree of correlation between these scores with the degree of usage of masks, decorations on bodies and deindividuation by members of cultures before battle. Watson demonstrated a significant relationships between aggression and pre-battle appearance of masking used as an anonymity device.

Other types of behaviour such as conformity and helping behaviour, as some evidence suggests, are to be negatively influenced by anonymity. Conformity to rules seems to be reduced by an increase in anonymity. For example, Singer, Brush and Lubin (1965) found that anonymity lessens conformity to group opinion in a judgement task and increases the probability of rule breaking (in their case, this involved the use of obscene language). Also Jorgenson and Dukes (1976) observed students in a university cafeteria, under two conditions - either relatively empty (low anonymity) or relatively full (high anonymity). Students in the

high anonymity condition reported feelings of being more uninhibited, and were also observed to violate cafeteria rules more frequently than were students in the low anonymity condition. Although this particular result seems to be confounded with other factors, such as density and crowding, they clearly are in support of Zimbardo's (1969) 'lowering threshold for normally restrained behaviour'.

The research relevant to helping behaviour and anonymity is more indirect. Helping behaviour is defined (Berkowitz et al, 1963, 1970, 1972) to be a moral or normative behaviour prescribed by societal norms. However, in populous environments (ie cities) where a great deal of anonymity is said to be present (Zimbardo, 1969), helping behaviour may be expected to be negatively influenced, because the individual in such environments where anonymity is present would care less about societal norms according to the hypothesis. However, so far no research exists directly testing this presumption. But some of the helping behaviour findings can be interpreted as an outcome of anonymity. For example, Darley and Latane (1968) in their bystander intervention studies, as well as other studies from the same series (eg Schwartz, 1969; Pilliavin, Rodin and Pilliavin, 1969), found that the likelihood of bystander intervention depends upon both the size and the heterogeneity of the group size involved. The greater the number of bystanders, the less likely it is that any of them will intervene in an emergency. Bystanders are also less likely to help an unknown individual (ie stranger) than a familiar person (ie friends). Although these studies explain their findings with reference to the phenomenon of the diffusion of responsibility, they may well be attributed to anonymity in a group. Some of these studies will be discussed in the next chapter (p 84). There are also comparative studies of helping behaviour carried out in urban and non-urban environments (to be reviewed in the next chapter) that suggest the greater degree of distrust and unhelpfulness among

urban dwellers. This finding might also partly be attributable, besides other factors discussed earlier on, to the anonymity that is presumed to exist in urban environments.

Deviance and crime as a function of anonymity in the city

Anonymity has been proposed as an explanation for the level of deviant behaviour and crime in the urban environment (Fisher, 1976). The data reported by Fisher (1972, 1976) indicates that the urban dwellers engage more in innovative, unconventional and deviant behaviour than non-urban dwellers. Crime rates for a variety of category offences are also much higher in urban environments than in non-urban environments, and this trend is observed throughout the entire world (Fisher, 1976) although there exist some exceptional cases. The available experimental data on aggression, non-conformity and anonymity relationships, although rather slim, certainly provide some support for the urban crime and deviance explanation, yet urban deviance and crime seem to be highly complex phenomena and they are more than a simple indication of the level of aggression and non-conformity. However, these can be considered a somewhat complex manifestation of the presence of hypothesized anonymity in urban environments. In sum, then, anonymity seems to be one of the central aspects of living in an urban environment though largely untested at the present moment, and its inclusion in a theoretical analysis of urban life will help an understanding of urban social behaviour.

Personality development

It was explicit in the previously reviewed analysis of population size and structural differentiation that various social behaviours develop in social milieu where intense role differentiation is present. Particularly, several studies on children from various communities have documented the development of a variety of social behaviours which are

suggested as relating to the degree of social differentiation in their communities. For example, Whiting and Whiting (1975) identified a certain behavioural pattern which is related to the level of structural differentiation in the culture. Whiting et al found two behavioural dimensions: the dimension "A" pole represents nurturant behaviour (offering help and offering support) and responsibility, while the dimension "B", the other pole, represents behaviour involving dependency (seeking help, seeking attention) and dominance. These dimensions were developed (as a result of analysis of multi-scaling) from behavioural data which was collected from six different cultures (Kenya, Okinawa (Japan), India, Phillipines, Mexico and United States). Children in each culture were observed and certain behaviours coded on the basis of the frequency with which they were exhibited. These groups of behaviours were: acting socially, insulting, offering help, offering support, seeking attention, touching, assaulting. For example, it was found that average scores of Orchard Town (USA) children fell on the dependent-dominant dimension, while children of farmer background in a Mexican village fell on the nurturant-responsible pole of the dimension. The Mexican children more freuqnetly engaged in nurturant-responsible behaviours such as offering help and support to economic welfare of the family and peers, and more often assumed responsibility for tasks. The Mexican children also tended to be less dominant and competitive in peer relationships than the Orchard Town children (USA).

Later, each of the six cultures studied was rated on a dimension of complexity: degree of occupational specialization, differentiation of settlement pattern, political centralization, social stratification and religious specialization. These measures were highly inter-correlated and the position of a cultural group on this measure of structural complexity was found to be related to the type of child behaviour observed in that culture. Children from complex cultures

(structurally differentiated - USA; Japan) tended to exhibit dominant-dependent behaviour (eg competitive, seeking attention), whereas children from simple undifferentiated cultures, ie Kenya, Phillipines, tended to show nurturance and responsible behaviour (ie offering support, offering help, acting sociably). The explanations for these behavioural differences with regard to structural differences of a particular culture was provided by Whiting et al by considering day-by-day activities of children and the number of tasks assigned to them. The conclusion reached by the authors was that children of simpler cultural backgrounds assume more tasks and more important tasks at an earlier age than children of complex cultures. The authors attribute these differences to the heavy complex and undifferentiated roles of mothers of simpler cultural background at the absence of specialized institutions that may undertake some of the workload. Thus this situation, as the data suggested, places some responsibility on children at an early age to perform some of these jobs. The kind of tasks performed by children in simpler societies that differ greatly from complex societies were related to the well-being of the family. These tasks were taking care of siblings and animals, the preparation of food and collecting wood that children started doing at age three or four. Such involvements, according to Whiting et al, give children in simple societies a feeling of competence, experience of adult status and sense of self-worth at an early age, while, in complex societies, a child's tasks are less clearly related to the welfare of self and family, except for some housekeeping and cleaning which, according to the authors, is less related to the development of responsibility and nurturance behaviour. Additionally the profile of children's behaviours manipulated across various number of situations showed such a stability that Whiting et al argue the existence of personality traits related to these behaviours.

To sum up, Whiting and Whiting's (1975) study suggests that

children in simpler, relatively undifferentiated societies develop nurturant (helping, supporting) and responsible behaviour, as compared to children in complex societies who more frequently exhibit competitive and dependent behaviours. This source of differences attributed to the level of structural differentiation. Additional data concerning the relationship between child behaviour and structural differentiation have been provided by several other researches. Madsen (1971), Shapiro and Madsen, (1969) and Madsen and Shapiro (1970) have demonstrated close association between behavioural patterns of "competitive" and "cooperative" and the level of urbanization (degree of structural differentiation). The data indicated that rural children engaged in more cooperative and less competitive behaviour as compared to urban children who engaged in more competitive and aggressive-dominating behaviour. Madsen (1971) and Madsen and Shapiro's (1970) experimental paradigm involved creating a game situation which allows children to engage in either a cooperative or competitive style of play, but which reinforces only mutually cooperative behaviour. Rural children were found to play cooperatively and avoid conflict, whereas urban children played competitively and tried to maximize their personal gain at the expense of their peers.

There are studies of helping behaviour with adult subjects (both rural and city background), and their findings might be interpreted as an extension of what has been found with children just reviewed. For example, Darley and Latane (1968), in their study of bystander intervention cited earlier (p 65), besides observing the influence of group size on helping in an emergency, also found a correlation between size of community in which subjects grew up (either urban or rural places) and the speed with which the subject intervened in an emergency to help the victim. The smaller the size of community in which the subject grew up, the more likely the subject was to help the victim. However, later the two studies by Schwartz and Clausen (1970) and Korte (1970),

which replicated Darley and Latane's study, failed to find such a correlation. However, one possible factor that contributed to this failure may be the characteristics of subjects used in these two studies. They were all university students who may be thought of as socialized and adapted to a competitive and challenging university environment, thus such a background effect may have disappeared. However, Gelfand, Hartman, Walder and Page (1973) in the field (which presumably ruled out this possible artifact in the above studies) found that background characteristics of bystanders affected their decision whether they reported the shop-lifting incidents. The bystanders who had non-urban up-bringing were more likely to report a shop-lifting offence than bystanders with urban background. From this finding it might be concluded that bystanders with a non-urban background may be concerned more with the well-being of their community, possibly due (in line with Whiting et al's (1975) argument) to the fact that individuals from small communities (structurally undifferentiated) acquired, or are encouraged along, responsible and nurturance behavioural patterns.

In summary, structural differentiation analysis suggests that increase in population size, density (for example in the city) leads to complex differentiation in terms of social roles and this in turn produces several behavioural consequences. The behavioural consequences considered in the preceeding section were anonymity, deviance and crime. Additionally, some evidence reviewed suggests that certain behavioural patterns or dispositions such as competitiveness-dependent versus cooperativeness and responsible behaviours are likely to develop in structurally differentiated environments (city versus town).

1.5 Summary to this chapter

In the area concerning urbanization and its behavioural consequences, there are two major theories: the determinist and the socio-cultural. The determinist theory views urban environment as consisting of several environmental factors (size, density, heterogeneity) that have consequences on behaviour, thought and experience. Contrary to the determinist theory, the socio-cultural hypothesis understands urbanization in terms of shift in technology, economic alternatives and role differentiation, and proposes that if there are any behavioural differences then these should be sought in such social variables as economic status; stages in a life cycle that have a pronounced effect. But size, density, heterogeneity, as they are proposed by the determinist approach, have a negligible influence. Additionally, in the preceding sections, another line of analysis has been carried out, that is the possible behavioural effect of several environmental variables (density, crowding, noise, architectural design and population size) that have been suggested as being prevalent in urban environments. Evaluation of evidence pertaining to each of these variables suggest the possibility of several behavioural consequences. For example, density and crowding research findings, although somewhat contradictory and although some have methodological problems, in general suggest the possibility of a negative effect of density and crowding in populous environments. Noise has been viewed as another stressor in urban environments. Findings from noise research, unlike density and crowding, suggest somewhat more firmly its possible negative behavioural consequences. Research on urban architecture and design is very scarce, and results are often contaminated by extraneous variables. However, the existing studies support the conclusion that architectural design characteristics alone or together with certain other factors in urban environments may

produce alterations in social behaviour; also, total urban architecture may have an impact on the psychological experience of individuals in this environment. Finally, the impact of population size and structural differentiation of social behaviour has been examined. A body of research suggests several behavioural consequences that may occur as a result of the degree of structural differentiation in a community (ie city versus town).

In sum, then, empirical findings pertaining to each of the variables suggest some possible behavioural consequences. Given the prevalence of these variables in the city, it may be expected that any one of these or a combination of these factors as well as others could be responsible for urban social behaviour. Hence the analyses of environmental factors suggest a conclusion that parallels the behavioural predictions of the determinist urban theories (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1950; Alexander, 1967; Milgram, 1970) rather than that of the socio-cultural theory offered by Gans (1962).

In the next chapter, the question to be considered is the actual nature of urban/non-urban differences for any validity of several analyses of the urban environments. For this, a review study on four types of urban social behaviours occurring between strangers, neighbours, friends and kin will be undertaken. Following this, several research questions which have been evaluated empirically in this project will be highlighted.

CHAPTER 2

THE NATURE OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR IN URBAN ENVIRONMENTS VERSUS NON-URBAN ENVIRONMENTS

CHAPTER 2

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2.1 Introduction; Nature of social behaviour in urban and non-urban environments

In the previous chapter several analyses of urban living and environment were reviewed. There are two types of analyses: the determinist theory and the socio-cultural theory. The determinist theory (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1950; Alexander, 1968; Milgram, 1970) predicts an alteration in social behaviour as a result of individuals' exposure to an urban environment, while the socio-cultural theory (Gans, 1962) does not suggest any effect of urban living, but rather social factors such as SES, ethnicity and so on. The social behaviours hypothesized to be influenced in the city are mainly ones that occur between urban dwellers, ie stranger (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1950; Alexander, 1968; Milgram, 1970), neighbours, friends, kin (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1950; Alexander, 1968). Moreover, the analyses made together with empirical evidence of the social and behavioural impact of particular features (density and crowding, noise, architectural design, population size and structural differentiation) of the urban environment suggests the possible existence of urban and non-urban differences in social behaviour.

In the next section empirical evidence examining the nature of urban social behaviour will be reviewed for the evaluation of the urban social behaviour hypothesis. It is important to note that there may be a vast array of different social behaviours that might be expected to vary as a function of community size. However, due to the present research interest, the review of literature will be limited to social behaviour occurring between strangers and primary group (ie kin, friends and neighbours). In fact, these are types of social behaviours that are emphasized and made a central theme of the urban social behaviour hypothesis. However, this is not surprising in recognition

of the fact that the presence of masses of strangers is a compelling characteristic of urban life, and social contacts with strangers seem to constitute a significant part of daily life. Lofland (1973), for example, summarized this observation in the following manner:

> "The city, whatever else it may be, is a world peopled in large measure by strangers. It is a place where people are continuously brought together who do not, and in most cases will never know one another at all ..., with whom their only basis for relationship is that they happen to occupy the same territory at the same time." (pp 93-94)

In addition, this significant aspect of urban life - urban dwellers' social contacts with masses of strangers - forms a keystone for urban theories (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1950) in explaining urban primary group relationships (ie social contacts with strangers force urban dwellers to be reserved in primary group relationships as well as in their encounters with strangers). Thus, the present research, as already indicated, examines these four types of social behaviours in urban and non-urban environments. Accordingly, the review will be limited to only these types of social behaviour for background and development of research questions pursued in this study.

As will be seen in the following section, the empirical evidence concerning these aspects of urban social behaviours is offered by a number of studies which have in general used either self-report (survey) or behavioural measures because of the nature of the social behaviour in question. Also, the important requirement for evaluation of the urban social behaviour hypothesis was that evidence should be comparative, in other words, similar data has to be collected in two or more environments differing in level of urbanization. This is because non-comparative data are not adequate for examining the presumed

urbanization effect (Guterman, 1969; Milgram, 1970; Fisher, 1976).

These criteria have been met by only a small number of studies revealing the degree to which a very basic question has only begun to be answered. The available evidence has suggested differing conclusions according to the kind of social behaviour under study, such as positive contact (ie helpfulness) between strangers, the frequency of social contacts, the degree of mutual aid and helpfulness between neighbours, friends and kin. So a review of these different kinds of social behaviour will be made separately.

2.2 Social contacts and helpfulness between kin

Comparative studies of the frequency of social contacts and helpfulness among relatives in different environments are few in number. Those available are consistent in suggesting that there is no difference between urban and non-urban families in their social contacts. One of the best controlled studies in this area was carried out by Reiss (1959) using the time budget technique among urban and rural respondents in Tennessee. He found no urban-rural differences in the amount of time spent with relatives and another family member. Similarly, according to Key (1968), the frequency of contacts among kin in communities of various sizes in the mid-eastern United States did not decrease with urbanization. The relationship between community size and family contacts was U-shaped, there being a high level of contacts for rural and city samples and relatively low level of contacts in intermediary sized communities. Glenn and Hill (1977) found no correlation between the frequency of socializing with relatives and the community size as a result of analysis of social survey data in the USA. Kasadra and Janowitz (1974) in their analysis of British Survey data have found no relationship between urbanism and hypothesized weakening in the bond of

kinship. Bultena (1969) studied the frequency of contact and he found no difference between city and town residents, when the distance of travel was controlled. Similarly, Koyama (1970) in Japan also failed to find any difference between urban and non-urban residents' pattern of visiting relatives, when the geographical distance between kin was controlled. Irwing (1975) examined the intensity of relationships (frequency and duration of social contacts) between kin in various districts of Hull city (England) (eg, its suburbs, the inner city, and the working-class neighbourhoods). He did not find any differences in the frequency of contacts among kin in these areas. However, there were differences in the pattern of visiting between localized and geographically dispersed kin. The localized kin visited often but for short periods, whereas geographically dispersed kin tended to visit less often but for a longer period. These differences, though, were not large enough to reflect weakening social ties between kin.

However, all of these studies pointed to the fact that urban families are relatively smaller (Key, 1969; Bultena, 1969; Koyama, 1970), and urban kin members are geographically dispersed (Bultena, 1969; Koyama, 1970; Key, 1968; Kasadra and Janowitz, 1974) yet, as observed, once spatial distance was controlled, there were no urban/non-urban differences in kin social contacts. There was one additional finding; one segment of urban residents in the working-class showed a different pattern in this respect; locally-based kinship (Kasadra and Janowitz, 1974).

2.3 Social contacts and helpfulness between friends

The majority of studies to date have found no association between urbanization and the level of contact between friends. Reiss (1959) and Key (1958), in their previously reported studies, investigated the

pattern of friendship in samples amongst communities of different sizes, from rural to urban. They found no difference between rural and urban samples in the degree of friends' socializing. Sutcliffe and Crabbe (1963) studied friendship ties in residential locations of various sizes in Australia. Their results were based on interviews with samples drawn from the inner city suburban residential areas near Sidney. The four samples did not differ in the frequency of social contacts among friends, and in other measures of friendship. Kasadra and Janowitz (1974), in their earlier cited analysis of social survey data, found no relationship between the level of urbanization among residents, the number of friends and acquaintances in their home area, and the degree of participation in normal activities. Similar findings were reported by Glenn and Hill (1977) in the case of American populations. They found no correlation between community size and frequency of socializing with friends. Finally, a study also by Empey and Lubeck (1968) compared urban and rural boys in various measures of loyalty of friendship and found no difference between these two samples. Exceptionally, by contrast with the above pattern of findings, Guterman (1969) has found that a negative relation exists between urbanization and a person's degree of socializing with friends. Guterman interviewed a sample of hotel employees on the east coast of America, living either in large cities or in small towns, and he found that in the small town sample the number of friends was higher and the level of intimacy in social contacts between friends was also higher.

In sum, then, these reviewed studies, except for Guterman's samples, have found that the urban respondents have as many close friends as the non-urban respondents and socialized with their friends to an equal degree as did their non-urban counterparts. Yet, all the above studies have concluded that the urban residents drew their friends from a wider variety of pools than the non-urban residents did (eg, the

work place, club versus local neighbourhood), and urban friends were more geographically dispersed (eg non-localized: Sutcliffe and Crabbe, 1963; Key, 1968; Kasadra and Janowitz, 1974). But the working-class residents, again, showed some difference; they tended to have localized friendship networks (Kasadra and Janowitz, 1974). However, as already seen, once the distance was controlled, the urban/non-urban dimension did not have any influence on friends' social behaviour.

2.4 Social contacts and helpfulness between neighbours

The results of the few comparative studies of urban and non-urban dwellers' neighbourly relationship and socializing suggest a different conclusion from what has been observed with kin and friends. Non-urban residents know more neighbours and the frequency of contacts and socializing among them is significantly greater than that among urban dwellers. Key (1968) also looked at the frequency of contacts and socializing between neighbours in communities of different size in his earlier mentioned study. He found that as the community size decreases the frequency of contacts between neighbours increases. Similarly, Fisher (1973), as a result of analysis of three social surveys, found a strong association between community size and the number of neighbours known. Non-urban residents knew more neighbours than urban dwellers. Fava (1958) carried out a comparative study in a suburb and the city of New York, using a neighbouring scale for the degree of contacts with neighbours. The data showed a decrease in neighbourly relations with an increase in urbanization. This was so even when personal characteristics such as length of residency and marital status were controlled. The non-urban dweller (suburban) knew more neighbours and socialized more with them than subjects from urban samples. The only study which failed to find an association between urbanization and neighbourly

contacts was that of Glenn and Hill (1977).

In sum, then, the evidence on neighbourly social behaviour unanimously suggests that in urban environments the number of neighbours known is small and the frequency of contacts and socializing with neighbours is weaker as compared to that in non-urban environments.

2.5 Social behaviour between strangers

The clearest evidence of urban/non-urban differences is offered from studies of social behaviour involving strangers. The results from these studies suggest that urbanites are less helpful, trusting and considerate towards strangers than non-urban dwellers. These studies have frequently utilized various types of helping and trusting behaviours which often occur in everyday life as a dependent measure.

One measure researchers have used in the examination of helpfulness-urbanization relationships is the 'wrong number' technique. A person is contacted on the telephone by a caller (experimenter) who first indicates that they had just dialled a wrong number from a pay-phone and who, then, appeals to the listener to pass on an important message on the pretext that the caller has no money left to place the call again.

Milgram (1970) compared the response (to a wrong number request) of people in Chicago, New York city and Philadelphia with the response of the town residents of Illinois, New York and Pennsylvania. He found a greater tendency in helpfulness towards the wrong number caller in small towns (though he did not report the level of significance).

Korte and Kerr confirmed this finding in 1975 and found that small town residents of Massachussetts were more responsive and helpful to wrong number requests than those residing in the city of Boston ($t = 1.49$, $p > .10$). This wrong number technique has also been utilized in two other studies: McKenna (1976) and Stern (1974). McKenna's

(1976) findings supported the earlier findings of Korte et al (1975) and showed that non-urbanites were clearly more helpful than their urban counterparts ($\chi^2 = 7.25$, $p > .01$). However, Stern (1974), in contrast to these consistent findings, found little effect of urbanization on helping a wrong number caller, but he did find an effect for the SES of respondents. In fact, SES seemed to be more influential than the level of urbanization. However, the validity of Stern's urbanization manipulation can be called into question. Stern collected data in five different environmental settings. He hypothesized that these environments could be ordered on a continuum from high to low urbanization, and should accordingly encourage linearly increasing levels of helpfulness. Close examination of these five experimental settings, however, demonstrates that they did not differ greatly from one another in either population size or density, and so Stern's negative results do not call into doubt the proposed relationship between urbanization and helpfulness by the earlier studies just reviewed.

Another measure of helpfulness used in many studies is Milgram, Man and Harter's (1965) 'lost letter technique'. Stamped, addressed envelopes are left in various places so as to appear to be 'lost' by the person intending to mail them. The lost letters are coded according to the location of their 'drop' allowing for a comparison of the return rate between localities, ie town and city. This measure is a non-interactive and anonymous measure of helping which might also indicate a person's attitudes along with his/her behaviour.

The majority of studies using this measure find a relatively higher rate of return from non-urban places. Korte and Kerr (1975) dropped postcards bearing an important message (requesting to meet the sender at a particular station and at a certain time) and found a relatively greater level of helpfulness from the town of Massachusetts than from the city of Boston (70% versus 61%); however, the differences

were not statistically significant. Krupat and Coury (1975) examined helpfulness in small towns in New Jersey versus the city of Manhattan and found the return rate of lost letters from the towns was higher than in Manhattan city. Kamman, Thompson and Irwin (1979) also found the return rate of letters lost in a non-urban setting to be greater than in the urban setting. They noted as well that the return rate from the medium urban settings was at a moderate level.

Another study from the series of 'lost letter' experiments was carried out by Hanson and Slade (1977) who examined city-town differences in the return rate of lost letters. Additionally they examined the return rate of 'lost letters' to deviant institutions to test the hypothesis that city dwellers are more tolerant towards deviant behaviours than are their town counterparts. The helping responses, in line with the hypothesis, were greater from the city then the towns (25% city versus 2.8% towns) although the town dwellers were more responsive than the city dwellers when the institution was not highly deviant. Altogether, the findings of these studies suggest that town dwellers are more helpful in mailing a lost letter than city dwellers, except when the person in need of help is highly deviant. One exception to this was a study by Forbes and Gromoll (1971) which reported no differences in the return rate of lost letters from cities, medium-size cities and town areas ($\chi^2(2) = .35$, ns).

'Side walk helpfulness' is another type of approach employed in this research. For instance, Merrens (1973), extending Latane's (1970) study, found a greater degree of helpfulness to strangers in doing small favours (eg change money, asking for directions, etc) in mid-western towns and cities compared with Latane's findings from New York city (though this difference might seem to reflect a regional factor in addition to urbanization). However, there was no difference between cities and towns in the mid-west.

Several other pieces of research have examined the relationship between trust, honesty and urbanization. Lowin, Holtes, Sandler and Bronstein (1971) compared the pace of life in cities and in towns and found, for example, that city clerks made more frequent checks on the money paid in by customers than their counterparts in the towns. They attributed this difference between city and town clerks to the less trusting, suspicious attitude of urban clerks.

Korte and Kerr (1975), in their study described above, also examined city and town clerks' responses to an accidental overpayment by customers for small purchases. It was found that small town store clerks showed a slightly greater tendency than their urban counterparts to return the overpayment (80% versus 55%) marginally significant ($\chi^2 = 2.84$, $p < .10$).

In another study examining helping and trusting behaviour in urban and town dwellers, Levine, Villena, Altman and Nadien (1976) found a clear difference between residents of the two environments in response to a stranger's request to use their telephone. In this study, the experimenters rang doorbells and explained that they had misplaced the address of a friend nearby and asked to use the telephone. City respondents were significantly less helpful towards strangers than were town respondents. The explanation of this result suggested by the authors is the personal vulnerability or urban dwellers that make them more suspicious of strangers and consequently less willing to help.

House and Wolf (1978) used willingness to be interviewed as a measure of trusting or helpful behaviour to test the effects of urban life. They had access to aggregate data from a series of surveys of presidential elections on studies by Michigan University, Survey Research Center (1964, 1968, 1972) and discovered a strong tendency for urban residents to refuse to be interviewed. The refusal rate in the urban places was greater than in small communities and in fact this

trend was consistent over the years.

Another study to be reported here has utilized a somewhat different dependent measure, ie eye contact, to test the nature of urban social behaviour. Reasoning that city dwellers are impersonal, superficial and turn away from social interaction, Newman and McCauley (1977) claimed that 'eye contact' with strangers is a measure of openness to communication and friendliness. They tested this supposition in a large urban area (Philadelphia) and small town setting. It was found that 'eye contact' with strangers was much less in the city than in the suburbs, and in turn much less in the suburbs than in small towns. The verbalization data also confirms these differences between city and small towns. Accordingly, the authors attributed this difference to the input overload quality of urban environments suggested by Milgram (1970).

A few studies examined urbanization and social behaviour relationships in cultures other than the United States so far reviewed, by use of several types of helpfulness measures. The data from these studies suggest somewhat mixed results. For example, in Canada, Schneider and Mackus (1974) did not find any differences in helpfulness between cities and towns, and in fact the helping behaviour pattern even slightly favoured urban dwellers. Contrary to Schneider et al's findings, Rushton (1978) has recently found greater helpfulness in Canadian towns than cities. In this case, helpfulness involved doing small favours for strangers (eg, giving time, showing directions and giving change of money). Rushton also examined suburbs as a mid-point in the level of urbanization between cities and towns. In each measure, the percentage of helping behaviour increased linearly as the level of urbanization decreased.

In Australia, Ameto (1980) has utilized 'eye contact' (cf Newman and McCauley, 1977) as a measure of friendliness and considerateness to

test the urban social behaviour hypothesis. His data revealed that size of community was negatively and significantly related to whether the subject gave 'eye contact', smiled or responded verbally ($F = 3.60$, df 2,230, $p < .01$).

The final study carried out in a setting other than in the United States was made in Holland (Korte, Ypma and Toppen, 1975). No urban/non-urban differences in helpfulness were found. Korte et al applied three measures of helpfulness: cooperating with an interview request, returning a lost key, and assisting a person with street directions - in various urban and non-urban locales, and found no differences in the help given to strangers between large cities (Amsterdam and Hague) and towns.

Besides these reviewed data on differences in social behaviour between two environments, there is also some evidence on urban/non-urban dwellers dispositional (attitudes, personality) differences in helpfulness and trust which tests the urban theories. This evidence will be reviewed in the next section.

2.6 Dispositional differences in helpfulness and trust between urban and non-urban residents as a function of living in city and town

As already seen in the preceding chapter, major urban theories postulate that urban living and urban environments not only have a negative effect on individuals' behaviour but also have a profound effect on an individual's personality and attitudes, and the observed behavioural differences are, they maintain, the expression of underlying urban/non-urban differences in personality.

In Wirth's (1938) writing, the aggregation of a great number of diverse individuals creates a social structure in which primary groups inevitably break down and general social ties between individuals

loosen. This situation, in turn, has profound consequences for an individual's personality and attitudes which constitute urbanites' superficiality, anonymity, untrustfulness and exploitativeness in the course of interaction with fellow urbanites. Similar consequences of city living have also been suggested by Simmel (1950) who maintains that the high level of stimulation provided by the pace of urban market economy and the tempo of urban life compel urbanites to make adaptations to the environment, which are reflected in his/her character. These personality characteristics, to which Simmel refers, reveal a blasé attitude, calculability, reserves and distrustfulness.

However, a somewhat different analysis is suggested by Milgram (1970). In contrast to Wirth and Simmel, Milgram argued that urbanites may adapt in a number of ways to an overload of stimulation generated by the urban environment and that these behavioural adaptations occur without very great adjustments in attitudes and values only within the context of strangers. Urbanites' frequent experience of input overload environments in the city leads to the development of certain norms of behaviour. These behavioural norms are, for example, the norm of non-involvement and withdrawal towards strangers.

Additionally, consistent with Wirth's and Simmel's analyses as already seen, the structural differentiation analysis also predicts differences in the personality and dispositions of individuals living in communities which differ structurally (eg, city versus town). A body of empirical evidence reviewed in Chapter 1 in the structural differentiation analysis suggests some possibility of impact on development of certain behavioural pattern. For example, children from less structurally differentiated societies (urban environments) have been found to exhibit responsible, cooperative behavioural patterns versus dependent, competitive behaviour patterns (Whiting and Whiting, 1975; Madsen and Shapiro, 1970; Shapiro and Madsen, 1969; Marin, Majia and

Oberle, 1975).

This dispositional hypothesis examined with adult subjects in an earlier reported series of laboratory studies postulated that differences in helpfulness would occur as a function of childhood background or as a result of being socialized in one type of environment or another (ie city, town) and that these behavioural characteristics would persist beyond the environment of origin. Although in these studies there were some indications of the influences of background on social behaviour - helpfulness - the majority of these studies failed to confirm this effect. For example, Darley and Latane (1968) found a significant difference between the size of the community in which the subject had grown up and his speed in reporting an emergency, while the speed with which subjects responded to the distressed person was greater among those with a non-urban than among those with an urban (home) background. Also, Gelfand, Hartman, Walder and Page (1973), in their field study, found that a by-stander with a non-urban childhood background was more likely to report a shop-lifting offence than a by-stander with an urban background. Contrary to these findings, Weiner (1976) found urban reared subjects to be more helpful than non-urban subjects in intervening in a laboratory staged emergency episode.

However, Darley and Latane's experiment (1968) was replicated in two later studies by Korte (1970), and Schwartz and Clausen (1970), and neither of these studies found any association between an urban or non-urban home background and the subject's speed of response in an emergency situation.

A final study testing the influence of home background on helpfulness was carried out by Holahan (1978). This study examined the effect of urban and non-urban background on judgements of several helping behaviours in various situations in the laboratory. Holahan, by administering a scale to subjects with either large city, medium

city or small town backgrounds, measured their judgements of the appropriateness of helping responses in four different environments (ie high density city versus small town, and homogeneous city versus heterogeneous, etc) using four different helping episodes differing in terms of their cost. The results indicate that helping behaviour is negatively related to the situational variables of population size, heterogeneity and level of personal risk, but is not clearly related to the home town of subjects. However, there was an interaction between home background, urban size and risk. According to Holahan, these findings serve as evidence that the urbanites' unresponsiveness is more a function of situational factors, and of interactions between situational and subject factors than subject characteristics such as having a city or town background alone. But, as the author himself states, findings from taxonomic study are of dubious value when applied in a generalized way to real life situations.

The evidence for the theory related to attitudinal differences (ie differences in attitudes of helping and trusting between urban and non-urban environments) has recently been reviewed by Fisher (1976). This review of literature suggests some slight differences in attitudes, ie helpfulness and trustfulness between urban and non-urban residents. For example, Fisher (1973) studied the sense of powerlessness and trust in respondents from communities varying in size using data collected by the USA Survey Research Center based on the Election Poll, and 1971 Income Synamic Survey USA, and Almond and Verba's Five-nations study (1968). The results of Fisher's study reveal some differences between urban and non-urban residents, even when the demographic factors are controlled, residents of large cities showed less trusting attitudes concerning others than did residents of small communities. Glenn and Hill (1977), by analysing the data of the American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup Poll) from late 1960 to the present date, have examined

the urban hypothesis related to attitudes (ie trusting, helpfulness) of rural, town and urban residents along with attitudes concerning other social issues. The results of the analysis demonstrated that, once social and demographic variables such as age and SES are controlled, there was only a weak association between community size and attitudes related to the urban hypothesis.

Christies and Geis (1970), utilizing national survey data from USA, have examined Machiavellism in rural and urban places. Machiavellism is defined as an inclination to use others amorally, that is as objects to be manipulated to one's own ends. The analysis revealed an equal proportion of Machiavellism in large and small communities.

House and Wolf (1978) also, in their previously reported study, besides urban/non-urban helpfulness, examined urban/non-urban differences in attitudes of helpfulness and trusting. The result showed almost no differences between places which could be attributed to urbanization. On the basis of this data and in agreement with Milgram's explanation, the authors argued that urban behavioural helpfulness and trust towards others may be a function of urbanites adapting to the city environment but this is not, as the theory suggested, due to underlying differences in dispositions of helping and trusting between environments varying in size. Yet, as the authors themselves indicate, there is a major problem in the study which weakens this result, namely that the findings based on aggregate data had probably not been collected specifically for an investigation of this hypothesis.

A final recent study which examined the attitudes of trust amongst urban versus non-urban residents was carried out by Franck (1981) who reported the findings of feelings of distrust and fear among urban dwellers towards strangers.

In summary, urban helpfulness has been hypothesized as a function of general attitudes and dispositions of trust or helpfulness. In a

small number of studies which challenged this hypothesis, the findings suggest a little about influences of having urban versus non-urban background on the occurrence of helpfulness. However, they found some slight differences in attitudes of helpfulness and trusting between residents of the two environments; urban residents have less trusting and helping attitudes than non-urban residents. The existing state of data, which are both few in number and somewhat contradictory, seem unable to resolve the controversial question whether the observed unhelpfulness and untrustfulness are due to dispositional differences or simply to a person's adaptations to situational pressures in different environments.

2.7 Conclusion

Taken as a whole, the preceding review of available limited studies on four types of social behaviour give some support to the presumed alteration in social behaviour in urban versus non-urban environments. Yet, the examination of the relevant research according to the context of social behaviour shows differing results, according to whether social behaviour occurs between strangers, neighbours, friends or kin. The findings strongly suggest that social behaviour involving strangers and neighbours are clearly different in urban environments than that found in non-urban environments; urbanites are less helpful and trusting in their social contacts with strangers in various contexts, while the number of neighbours known by urban residents is small, and the frequency of socializing between neighbours (eg social contact and helpfulness) is significantly lower. However, there is no clear evidence concerning presumed weakening social behaviour, and helpfulness occurring between kin and friends in the urban environments versus the non-urban environments. Yet, this is not to say that city living and environment do not

have any influence on friends and kin social situations. For example, in the urban environments, families are found to be smaller in size and kin members are geographically dispersed. Similarly, urban dwellers' friends are geographically dispersed and friends were drawn from a larger social pool. Yet these situations in the city, as has been seen, do not weaken friends and kin relationships relative to what is observed in non-urban environments. Also reviewed evidence on dispositions do not suggest much influence of urban background versus non-urban on positive social behaviour. However, there was found some slight differences in attitudes of helpfulness and trusting; urban dwellers held somewhat less tuusting and helpful attitudes towards others than their non-urban counterparts. Yet, the question whether observed unhelpfulness and distrust among urban dwellers are due to underlying attitudes of unhelpfulness with the present state of the data has remained unclear.

However, there are certain limitations for the above conclusion that should be pointed out. First, the studies reviewed are, in fact, few in number, and especially in the case of kin's, friends' and neighbours' social behaviour, the majority of studies utilized data derived from secondary sources (eg aggregate census and historical works) which did not allow for the control of the influence of several potentially important variables (Fisher, 1976). More importantly, most of this data was concerned not with the quality but rather with the quantity of urban social contacts (Guterman, 1969) which is not adequate to test the urban social behaviour hypothesis. Second, the findings concerning social behaviour between strangers can be questioned on the basis of the sample of population used. Conceptualizing city environments, according to the urban theories, as a behaviourally homogeneous entity, the data has usually been collected in one environmental setting in both towns and cities (Fisher, 1978; Korte, 1978). Hence the absence of representative samples may bias the findings (Hansen, Slade and

Slade, 1978). In fact several observational accounts of neighbourhoods within the city (Gans, 1962; Jacobs, 1961) contradict the findings suggested by the existing studies both on social behaviour occurring between strangers and neighbours within the city. Third, criticism involves the cultural limitation of the findings: the data has been collected in only one type of culture - Western, developed. However, there are observations from cities of other types of cultures - developing countries which suggest the urban phenomena occur in a different way than what has been observed in the cities of Western world (Hauser, 1965; Abu Loughood, 1961). Thus more empirical evidence from a variety of settings with adequate methodology is needed to test the hypothesis, and the existing evidence should be treated with caution.

Despite several weaknesses mentioned as inherent in the data, accepting them as they are, they seem to confirm only those aspects of the urban social behaviour hypothesis involving relationships between strangers, and neighbours, while evidence concerning friends and kin relationships does not support the urban social behaviour hypotheses. Yet, whatever factors are responsible for differences between urban and non-urban residents the evidence on urban social behaviour confirm Wirth's (1938), Simmel's (1950) and Milgram's (1970) claims in that they show that urbanites are impersonal, less trusting, less helpful, and more exploitative in relationships with other fellow urbanites, and are engaged in less neighbourly activities, although the fact that there is no difference in social contacts between friends and kin, is partially a disconfirmation of Wirth's hypothesis especially.

In the next chapter, the research problems which were pursued in the present thesis will be summarized briefly. Also methodological comments will be made on the research techniques used in investigating these problems, and dependent measures.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGICAL NOTE FOR THE PRESENT RESEARCH

CHAPTER 3

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3.1 Research questions in the present study

In the preceding sections reviewed, the data on four aspects of social behaviour in urban versus non-urban environments, although there exists several weaknesses, confirmed the urban social behaviour hypothesis only for social behaviour occurring between strangers and neighbours but not those occurring between friends and kin. However, this result as indicated is virtually based on studies carried out on one type of culture (Western developed countries) especially from the United States. In the absence of empirical data from other types of cultures, for example in developing countries where the urban phenomenon is said to occur in a different way from that observed in the Western world (Hauser, 1965; Abu-Loughoud, 1961), the generality of urban-social behaviour over other cultural settings is open to considerable question. However, as Korte (1978) pointed out, findings from other cultural settings on urban-social behaviour relationship have a significant implication for the major question sought by the urban psychology, that is 'whether change in the form of human habitat - urbanization - has any significant psychological consequences on human behaviour and experience as a general phenomenon', or in other words 'whether urbanization phenomena have a universal quality which permits broad generalizations about its effects'. Thus, any answer to this question may illuminate several issues in the area of urban psychology. For example, in the event of urban phenomena showing a universal effect, then this may be sufficient evidence to lead us to look into certain features that differentiate the two environments for an explanation of social behaviour. Hence data from other cultural settings seem to be vital for accumulating evidence in the area. These considerations led the present research project to undertake examination of the urban-social behaviour relationship in a culture - Turkey - different from settings in the line of research used previously.

The selection of Turkey was considered quite appropriate as it is a Middle Eastern, developing nation containing significant urban centres (Isbanbul, Ankara) that would provide a good setting for the generality or urban-social behaviour relationships. Four types of social behaviours - helpfulness between strangers, social contact and helpfulness between kin, friends and neighbours - were examined in various types of environments in Turkey for this research end. Second, the environmental input level hypothesized to be the prevalent factor in an urban environment, and responsible for urban helpfulness (Milgram, 1970), was evaluated in naturalistic environments by the present study. In the next section a brief summary of the empirical research problems pursued in the present project is outlined. However, each research problem will be highlighted in full detail in its relevant chapter.

At the first stage of the empirical enquiry on the nature of several types of helpfulness shown towards strangers, the question was examined in various environments in Turkey (ie cities, towns, squatter settlements within the city, and city districts within the city). All these studies are reported in Chapter 4.

First, urban/non-urban differences in helpfulness were examined for the generality of the findings of urban helpfulness and the urban social behaviour hypothesis in Turkey.

Second, social behaviour-urbanization relationships were examined in squatter settlements within the city environment. The previous research on urban social behaviour, by adopting the criteria of population size to differentiate between an urban environment and a non-urban environment, conceptualized an urban environment behaviourally as a homogeneous entity. Viewed in this manner, behaviour in an urban environment contrasted with that of town dwellers. However, there are different types of urban environments within a city. In some of these, according to some observers, classically depicted urban social behaviour

such as superficiality, impersonality, distrustfulness and unhelpfulness are absent. Observations of such city neighbourhoods run counter to the depicted urban way of life of urban theories, and this account suggests that other than environmental factors, ie size, density and heterogeneity, are influential factors, ie non-environmental (cultural-economic) which may also play a mediating role in the link between social behaviour (ie helpfulness) and the urbanization phenomenon. But this question has not been examined empirically. The Turkish cities which contained a number of squatter settlements - urban neighbourhoods occupied by rural migrants to cities - provided good settings to test this question. This study is reported in Chapter 4 along with urban/town differences in helpfulness shown towards strangers.

Besides differentiation along squatter/non-squatter lines, the city can also be viewed as internally differentiated according to the level of urbanization of its various districts (eg level of density, level of noise, level of activity and commercial versus residential character) and social characteristics of its residents. If urban social behaviour (helpfulness) is determined to a degree by the actual environmental conditions as both analysis of environmental factors (density, crowding, noise and architectural design) and hypothesis of urban social behaviour (Milgram, 1970), then the urban areas varying in these several environmental characteristics may be expected to influence the occurrence of helpfulness. However, little research exists so far on this problem. The present research examined this question within several city environments, and this is presented in Chapter 4.

The report in Chapter 4 includes empirical studies of three more questions: first, one of the explanations of urban unhelpfulness has been given by Milgram (1970) by using the input overload hypothesis; the present research, by designing quasi-experimental studies in the field tested Milgram's input overload hypothesis; second, sex

differences in helpfulness were examined. The final question examined was the dispositional differences between urban/non-urban residents, namely differences in attitudes of helpfulness. Major urban theories (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1950) postulate that urban living and environment not only have a negative effect on an individual's behaviour but have a profound effect on an individual's personality and attitudes of helpfulness and trust as well. In fact, these theories suggest that observed behavioural differences in helpfulness are the expression of this underlying urban/non-urban difference in these dispositions. However, as noted in the review, little research has been done, and this suggests a conflicting result with regard to this theory. The present study involved a survey study on views on helpfulness amongst residents of urban and non-urban environments and this is reported in Chapter 4.

At the second stage of the enquiry, other types of social behaviours, social contacts and helpfulness between kin, friends and neighbours were examined in various types of Turkish environments (cities, towns and city-squatter settlements) for the generality of urban social behaviour findings in Turkey. Effects of several potentially influential variables (ie an individual's sex, age, place of origin, socio-economic status and length of residency) on these relationships were explored, independent of the urbanization dimension in Turkish environments. The full report of this research is presented in Chapter 5. Another research question pursued in Chapter 5 was the evaluation of the relationship between a particular helping act and the source of help. The research problems will be discussed fully in Chapter 5.

3.2 Methodological note for the present study

3.2.1 The nature of the present enquiry

The present research project, in examining several specific research questions of urban social behaviour, collected the data in environments differing in community size (eg city, town, etc). As earlier indicated, this was because, as Wirth (1938) and Milgram (1970) pointed out, non-comparative data are not adequate for examining the presumed urbanization effect.

The present research, in investigating urban social behaviour, concentrated on four social behaviours: social behaviour occurring between strangers, kin, friends, and neighbours' social contacts and helpfulness. Two types of research technique were used as the previous researches in the area have done. First, for the investigation of helpfulness occurring between strangers, behavioural measures were used in the naturalistic field settings, while, in examination of kin's, friends' and neighbours' social behaviour, a survey technique was used.

3.2.2 Helpfulness as a dependent measure

In the present inquiry helping behaviour was utilized as a dependent measure. Helping behaviour provides an ideal testing ground for examining the impact of the urban environment on behaviour, as this particular form of behaviour is seen as an essential ingredient for the quality of life in any locality, and it is widely viewed as a quality of human interaction that is eroded by features of city living. Furthermore, the understanding consequences of urban living in terms of helping behaviour derives its importance from a commitment to view urban problems in terms of the human dimension, since helping is viewed as a behaviour that has a survival value for a human community (Kanfer, 1979).

In line with previous studies in the context of strangers, helpfulness measures used in the present enquiry were types of helpfulness occurring in everyday life. For example, in the present research, helpfulness measures used were: change money, assisting someone having difficulty retrieving a dropped parcel, granting an interview for a survey and posting a lost postcard. There are several reasons for using the everyday types of helpfulness (as opposed to assistance in emergency, eg, like Darley and Latane's (1968) experiment paradigm, intervening in an emergency to aid a victim seriously suffering, or donations, giving comfort). First, these types of social contacts often occur between strangers in the everyday life situation, and the nature of these contacts or more accurately the impression of these contacts, would appear to be central to our stereotypes of places and the impression of quality of life. The second methodological point is that using the favours was also an everyday type of helpfulness versus the emergency type of helpfulness, ruling out the possibility of other potential intervening factors which may account for behaviour better than the urban/non-urban dimension (eg, in an emergency situation, helping

behaviour may be better explained by the presence of a number of by-standers).

A further comment concerns carrying out measurements in the naturalistic as opposed to the laboratory field in examining helpfulness in the context of strangers. In the area of social psychology, research, in general, suffers from an external validity problem (Bickman and Henchey, 1972; Tunell, 1977; Aronson and Carlsmith, 1969). Meanwhile, growing realization suggests that behaviour can be studied in its naturalistic context in the field, and in this way behaviour studied will be much freer and less constrained (Tunell, 1977). Also, Webb, Campbell, Schwartz and Sechrest (1966) point out a number of factors that decrease the validity of research, and argue how some of these problems can be overcome through unobstructive measurements. In the present research carrying out study in the field and using naturalistic episodes of helpfulness seems to overcome possible methodological problems which may arise from the laboratory settings.

In the next chapter a report of the study examining helpfulness shown towards strangers in various Turkish environments (cities, towns and squatter environments within the city) will be presented in full detail. There, (a) the generality of urban helpfulness finding within the context of stranger will be tested, (b) helpfulness-urban relationships will be examined in various types of environments within the city (squatter settlements, and four different city districts differing in their level of urbanization), (c) Milgram's (1970) input overload hypothesis for urban helpfulness will be tested in quasi-experimental situation, (d) the dispositional explanation of the urban social behaviour hypothesis with regard to helpfulness and trustfulness will be tested, and additionally (e) sex differences in helpfulness in Turkish environments will be evaluated under the light of the previous findings elsewhere.

CHAPTER 4

HELPFULNESS BETWEEN STRANGERS IN TURKISH CITIES, TOWNS AND URBAN VILLAGES

(Some of the data reported in this chapter published in Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 1981, 12, 124-141, see Appendix.)

CHAPTER 4

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4.1 Introduction

The character of social behaviours hypothesized to be influenced by city living include social behaviour occurring between strangers, neighbours, friends and kin. In the present chapter we are concerned with only one aspect among these urban social behaviours, that is helpfulness occurring between strangers. Empirical studies to be described here involved the examination of several research questions. First, the nature of helpfulness shown towards strangers was examined in cities and town environments in Turkey, a cultural setting different from those previously used in this line of research. The examination of urban helpfulness in such a cultural setting aimed to test the generality of the previous findings. Second, the nature of helpfulness was examined in various city sub-environments which differed in their level of urbanization. This involved studying helpfulness occurring between strangers in the squatter settlements, and four different districts, within the city. This aimed to test the conceptualization of the urban social behaviour hypothesis that treats an urban environment as a homogeneous entity in terms of social behaviour. The third explanation of urban helpfulness is that of Milgram's (1970) input overload. This hypothesis was tested in a quasi-experimental situation in cities and town environments. The fourth question examined was that dispositional differences between urban and non-urban residents exist as a result of exposure to urban living and environment. The final question was concerned with individual differences in helpfulness in terms of sex.

4.1.1 Helpfulness shown towards strangers in Turkish cities and towns

As already seen, both stereotypes and social psychological analyses of urban life and urban environment suggest urban living has negative consequences in individuals' social behaviour (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1950; Alexandre, 1968; Milgram, 1970). According to Wirth

(1938) three elements - the size, density and heterogeneity of urban populations - lead to social conditions such as social differentiation, the increased importance of secondary groups and multiplication of an individual's different roles. As a result the individual's social contact with strangers becomes impersonal, superficial and utilitarian, and primary group relationships (friends, family, neighbours) become weakened. Similarly, Simmel (1950) has characterized urban social contact as indifferent, transitory and impersonal and attributed this to the high level of intense stimulation provided by the pace of life and market economy in the city, while Milgram (1970), in a recent application of Simmel's conceptualization, has also emphasized that the urban environment generates high intensity stimuli, ie sights, sounds, events and opportunities, and has attributed urban unhelpfulness and inconsiderateness to this input overload. This formulation is also consistent with the findings of the research reviewed previously on density, crowding, noise and architectural design.

Recent empirical evidence reviewed previously, however, challenged these prevailing hypotheses, and now suggests that cities have influence only on certain types of social behaviours. Social behaviours that are clearly influenced by city living are those occurring between strangers and neighbours, while social behaviour occurring between kin and friends do not differ between city and town environments. As already pointed the present chapter examined helpfulness occurring between strangers. Social behaviour occurring between neighbours, friends and kin will be reported in the next chapter.

Contact with strangers is a salient aspect of everyday life and the nature of this contact, or more accurately the impression of this contact, would appear to be central to our stereotypes of places and the impression of quality of life (Lofland, 1973). Studies on social contacts with strangers, reviewed in Chapter 2, consistent with this

hypothesis, have demonstrated that urban dwellers, compared to their non-urban counterparts are less helpful, trusting and considerate toward strangers (Milgram, 1970; Lowin, Holtes, Sandler and Bronstein, 1971; Merrens, 1973; Krupat and Coury, 1975; Korte and Kerr, 1975; McKenna, 1976; Levine, Villena, Altman and Nadien, 1976; Hanson and Slade, 1977; Newman and McCauley, 1977; House and Wolf, 1978; Kamman, Thompson and Irwin, 1979; for exceptions see Forbes and Gromoll, 1971; Stern, 1974).

This evidence demonstrating social contacts between strangers as more exploitative, impersonal, less trusting and less helpful, however, is entirely based on studies carried out in the United States, and confidence in the consistency of urban/non-urban differences in helpfulness toward strangers is considerably weakened when one turns to data from cultures other than the United States. To date, as already seen, only four studies on this topic have been reported, carried out in Holland (Korte, Ypma and Toppen, 1975), Canada (Schneider and Mocus, 1974; Rushton, 1978) and Australia (Amato, 1980). Only two of these four studies, from Canada (Rushton, 1978) and Australia (Amato, 1980), found urbanites to be less helpful and less considerate than non-urbanites. This suggests that the occurrence of urban/non-urban differences in social behaviour may depend upon particular cultural features that modify the influences of a city environment: if so, this might lead to a different account of urban/non-urban social behaviour than that suggested by current urban theories. Thus, in conclusion, it seems the generality of urban/non-urban differences in helpfulness in other cultural settings is open to question.

Furthermore, all these studies have been carried out in similar types of societies, in developed and westernized countries. What is completely lacking is an indication of whether there are urban/non-urban differences in social behaviour in cultures that are markedly different

from those that have been studied to date, ie in developing nations. According to several analyses, cities in developing nations exhibit certain characteristics that do not exist in those of developed western nations. For example, one striking aspect is that among city dwellers of Djarkarta, Rangoon and Calcutta, a low level of heterogeneity on major social characteristics, ie social differentiation specialization, sophistication and cosmopolitanism has been reported (Hauser, 1965). Almost half of the city population lives in self-contained, rural types of settlements which have been called urban villages within the city, eg Cairo - Egypt (Abu-Lughood, 1961), Ankara and Istanbul - Turkey (Karpat, 1976; Turkdogan, 1977; Yavuz, Kales and Geray, 1978), Latin America (Lewis, 1959; Turner, 1962) and in Africa (Wilson and Mafeje, 1963). These analyses of cities in the developing world (Abu-Lughood, 1961; Hauser, 1965) have argued that the western model of urban behaviour and urban social characteristics does not apply to cities of the developing world where impersonality, distrust, alienation and unhelpfulness are not predominant to the degree depicted in the cities of Western developed countries. This characterization of cities in developing countries seems to challenge the view of urban theories which presume a universality of social behavioural effects associated with the urban environment involving variables such as size, density and heterogeneity of population.

However, there are no data which directly test this characterization of cities in the developing world and this prompted the present study. The main focus of this experiment, then, was to evaluate the generality of the helpfulness-urbanization relationship in a culture quite different from those previously used in this line of research. To provide a proper empirical evaluation, we need to investigate cities in the developing world that seem to challenge the formulations of current urban theories which treat urbanization as a universal

phenomenon independent of any specific form of urbanization. For this reason Turkey was selected as the focus of our research, since it is a Middle Eastern, developing nation with significant urban centres (Istanbul and Ankara) which would provide a good setting to test the generality of urban/non-urban differences in helpfulness towards strangers. Hence, the first part of this study was concerned with examining the response to a variety of helpfulness measures in a sample of Turkish towns and major cities.

4.1.2 Urban village phenomena: helpfulness in squatter settlements

The city appears to contain a variety of environments in terms of both physical characteristic and social characteristic. Despite this, the previous research (reviewed in Chapter 2) concerning the presumed linear relationship between urbanization, as indicated by population size, and the pattern of helpfulness does not take account of intra-city differences. Generally the data have been collected from a section of a city and then compared with data collected from a section of a town. This conceptualization of urban environments, which defines 'urban' in terms of size of population, treats urban environments as homogeneous entities, when, in fact, there may be significant intra-urban differences which may relate to patterns of social behaviour. It is thus an overly simplistic approach, and does not allow us to identify specific, crucial factors which may be responsible for urban social behaviour.

Wirth (1938), Simmel (1950) and Milgram (1970) have clearly distinguished the environmental factors in an urban environment such as population size, density and heterogeneity of population (Wirth, 1938) and stimulation from these factors (Simmel, 1950; Milgram, 1970) that may have particular impact on social behaviour, yet there is no assurance that such effects would not be over-shadowed by other forces

in the city, ie cultural, economic and certain other factors which may also influence the pattern of social behaviour.

Several community studies have described urban neighbourhoods where mutual aid and cooperation flourish in a fashion that reminded observers of a small town or village life, and these communities provide indicators of the possible mediating role of cultural factors between social behaviour and the various phenomena of urbanization.

One of the most interesting accounts of these urban neighbourhoods (Jacobs, 1961) concerned the residents of Greenwich village (a district of New York) and Boston North End (a working-class Italian neighbourhood). It describes their sense of belongingness and identification with the neighbourhood and the high level of neighbourly relationships and mutual aid between them. Jacobs also notes the high level of safety and help experienced by both residents and outside visitors alike, due to the virtual absence of street crime, and the feeling that in a troublesome situation they would always find support from local residents. The existence of a similar quality of social life has been reported in other urban communities by different analysists (Gans, 1962; Fried and Gleicher, 1970) and is perhaps best described as an 'urban village' style of life. Indeed, in a community such as Boston West End studied by Gans the patterns of social behaviour are commensurate with a village way of life. The high level of familiarity between the residents, residential stability and strong identification with the local neighbourhood resulted in the establishment of extensive inter-personal networks which provide the intensive support and aid to individuals in time of hardship lacking in many other neighbourhoods of Boston reported by West End residents. Gans (1962) has added that the pattern of inter-personal behaviour observed within the neighbourhood results from the rural origins of the residents and is bound up with the social tradition of a particular ethnic sub-culture. This social

milieu has partly insulated them from some of the stressful disturbances or disintegrating forces of urban life (ie high residential mobility and population heterogeneity), thus enabling them to maintain an environment that supports helpfulness and intimacy. In a later period, the systematic quantitative data gathered by Fried and Gleicher (1970) from West End demonstrates that the important features of urban villages are the localization of inter-personal ties; the overlap in these ties to the extent that many neighbours are also kin; the many interrelated friendship networks; frequent mutual aid, the long and continuous history of these relationships and the fact that the various ties often became interwoven through many activities within a common community. The streets themselves were favourite recreation areas, bars and the settlement houses in the area all served as points of contact for overlapping social networks. In short, as most of the residents of West End stated, West End was home for them and because of its familiarity and security they felt a commitment to it. What is of course immediately striking about this picture of urban districts with their greater level of helpfulness is that it clearly runs counter to the urban social behaviour hypothesis (especially Wirth's 1938) that various forms of helpfulness, eg helpfulness towards strangers who need assistance, suffer a decline in urban environments. As earlier reviewed (see Chapter 2), researches at this point clearly suggest that urban dwellers are less helpful and considerate towards strangers than their non-urban counterparts. Yet, while this basic city-town difference in helpfulness is informative, it tells us hardly anything about the within city variations. However, examination of helpfulness in environments within the city besides offering settings to evaluate the urban impact hypothesis can be very important to illuminate possible determinants of naturally occurring urban helpfulness.

Data to evaluate the idea that there are particular parts of

cities which show higher levels of helpfulness are extremely scarce. Only one recent study by Korte et al (1975) carried out in several city districts in Amsterdam (Holland) has examined this question. A preliminary stereotype study was conducted among Amsterdam residents first in order to select city neighbourhoods presenting an image of a high level of friendliness and helpfulness. Two neighbourhoods which satisfied this criterion were identified and were old, stable, working-class districts. The actual helpfulness shown to strangers in these neighbourhoods was then compared with the two neighbourhoods which were ranked the lowest in helpfulness by Amsterdam residents. The result of this study did not support the expectation that level of helpfulness would be influenced by the enhanced quality of life associated with urban village social patterns.

Korte et al's failure to find any differences in helpfulness between the two types of city districts in Amsterdam can be attributed to several factors. First, it may be that helpfulness is expressed in ways not detected by the measures employed by this study or, second, perhaps helpfulness is limited to relatives, friends and neighbours in the neighbourhood. However, if urban villages are more helpful in this way, that is between friends, relatives and neighbours, then one may imagine how the impression of this trait could be easily generalized, perhaps without much justification to include helpfulness toward strangers. A final point that might account for the failure of Korte et al's study is that they may not have located real instances of the urban village phenomenon in Amsterdam. Perhaps, as Wirth (1938) has suggested, because of the melting pot effect of the urban environment the urban village phenomenon had a rather limited, short-lived history of rural to urban migration and stable, homogeneous, ethnic enclaves or ghettos. The present day versions of urban villages may in fact be best illustrated within the cities of developing nations which are at

present undergoing extraordinary population growth, swelled by significant rural-to-urban migration. The new urban residents frequently settle into 'squatter' neighbourhoods which remain quiet and are composed of lower and working-class persons with rural origin. Several accounts have noted a high level of interpersonal relationships and helpfulness among the squatter residents (for analyses of Turkish squatter settlements, see Suzuki, 1964; Levine, 1973; Karpat, 1976; Tekkeli, 1971; Yasa, 1966; for analyses of the squatter settlements of other developing countries, see Abu-Loughood, 1961; Wilson and Mafje, 1963; Turner, 1962; Lewis, 1959). The behavioural characteristics of these urban settlements have been viewed (Abu-Loughood, 1961; Karpat, 1976) as challenging the urban impact hypothesis offered by Wirth (1938) that the behaviour of urbanites adapts toward inevitable forms in response to the influence of the urban environment.

The cities (Ankara and Istanbul) examined in the present study contain numerous squatter settlements which offer an excellent opportunity to test the urban impact hypothesis empirically, as well as the urban village thesis that overall social quality within neighbourhoods that relates to the urban village stereotype enhances various types of helpfulness. The present chapter evaluated this expectation by examining helpfulness shown toward strangers, and helpfulness occurring in different contexts (ie kin, friends and neighbours) also examined in the city squatter settlements will be reported in the next chapter.

Some background on the characteristics of Turkish urban squatter settlements will illustrate their relevance as a testing ground for the validity of some aspects of urban impact theories especially that of Wirth's (1938) as well as the urban village thesis.

The population of Turkey grew from 16 million in 1935 to 40 million in 1975. Within the same period, owing to 'push' factors, the high birth rate and economic hardship in rural areas, there has been a

population flow from rural areas to cities (Tumerketin, 1968; Hart, 1969). As a result, the population of the cities has increased dramatically: for example, from 1940 to 1975 Istanbul grew from 793,949 to 3,904,000, while Ankara grew from 152,242 to 2,585,293 (1975 Turkish census). One result of this rural-urban migration has been the formation of numerous squatter settlements (Gece Kondu) located often but not always on the fringe of the city. The squatter settlements at the present time form a significant part of the urban population: for instance, 59% of Ankara's and 55% of Istanbul's population reside in the squatter settlements (Yavuz, Keles and Geray, 1978).

The settlements can be best described as districts of low-quality housing erected illegally on unused land by migrants to the city who find, with their limited economic means, no other viable alternative for housing. Once erected, these settlements are quite stable with several in Turkey having persisted now into the third generation of inhabitants. Residence within the settlement is often organized according to the particular village in the rural district from which settlers originate. New migrants from a particular village in rural Turkey will commonly seek out fellow villagers who preceded them in their migration to Istanbul or Ankara and join them in that part of the settlement.

Accounts of the social patterns within the squatter settlements (see, for example, Abu-Loughood, 1961; Suzuki, 1964; Levine, 1973; Tekkeli, 1971; Asma, 1970; Karpat, 1976; Turkdogan, 1977) suggest that the forms of social behaviour usually associated with urban villages prevail also in this setting. The residents have been depicted as helpful, supportive of one another, and engaged in extensive mutual aid networks involving friends, kin and neighbours, as well as having retained the mannerisms, attitudes and values that prevail in the village of origin. Hence the city-squatter residents resemble the

present day inhabitants of villages and towns in Turkey more than they resemble their non-squatter fellow urbanites.

The present study was designed with two aims: (1) to evaluate the urban impact hypothesis, and (2) to contribute to the debate about the character of these urban villages. With this end in view, the nature of helpfulness shown by the squatters towards strangers in several contexts was examined to see in particular if their behaviour does in fact resemble that found in towns and villages in Turkey while differing from the behaviour of those of the non-squatter areas of Turkish cities.

Higher levels of helpfulness shown toward strangers by the squatters, compared to the 'regular' urban sample, could be predicted for a number of reasons. Traditional Turkish values stress the importance of social responsibility and the giving of assistance to others (Erdentug, 1977; Turkdogan, 1977; Kurtkan, 1977) and the squatter population close to their village origins and immersed in social networks and ways of life that are based on the village model may exemplify these traditional values in their behaviour more than the regular urbanites. Also, their 'urban villages' may partially insulate them from some of the stressful disturbances of urban life, eg bureaucratic life, role conflict, input 'overload', whose symptoms may include a decline in considerateness towards strangers who need assistance (Wirth, 1938; Milgram, 1970). The present study will not directly test these different explanations, but will examine the preliminary question of whether the squatters do differ from regular urbanites in their social behaviour in order to test (1) the urban impact hypothesis (Wirth, 1938), (2) the urban village thesis.

4.1.3 Helpfulness in non-squatter urban environments within the city

The cities (Ankara and Istanbul) examined in this present study,

in addition to differentiation along squatter/non-squatter lines, can also be viewed as internally differentiated according to the level of urbanization of their various districts and social characteristics of the residents. Urban environments have often been regarded as homogeneous entities, when in fact there are significant differences and intra-urban variations which may be related to patterns of social behaviour. Districts of the city differ in environmental characteristics that are seen as prototypically urban, eg density, noise level, activity level, commercial versus residential character.

Specifically, if the behavioural characteristics are determined to some degree by the actual conditions of the immediate environment as suggested by studies reviewed earlier on density, noise, urban architecture and design as well as by Milgram's (1970) explanations in terms of input overloads, then urban environments within the city varying in several environmental characteristics may be expected to influence the occurrence of helpfulness. The study reported in this section was designed to assess this possibility by comparing helpfulness between various sections of the non-squatter city environments.

Let us first examine the existing studies which have compared the patterns of social behaviour in city districts that differed in their level of urbanization. Previously reviewed studies by Rushton (1978) and Newman and McCauley (1977) used suburban settings as an intermediary level of urbanization between the inner section of a city and a town, and found, as expected, an intermediary level of helpfulness and friendliness towards strangers in the suburban settings. However, between the inner section and the suburban section of a city, other levels of urbanization also exist. Environments within the city may be ordered along a continuum according to their environmental characteristics, ie density, crowding, noise, activity level, commercial and residential characteristics: and these environmental characteristics

may coincide with the social behaviour found there.

The present study involved, first, carrying out a preliminary study to select various environments within the city which differed in their level of urbanization, and compared patterns of helpfulness found there.

4.1.4 Helpfulness and environmental input level

One limitation in the research which attempts to establish a link between urbanization and social behaviour is the failure to discriminate between various factors which might account for urban/non-urban differences (Fisher, 1978; Korte, 1976, 1978, 1980). The urban environment differs from the non-urban in various ways and any of these may influence the occurrence of social behaviour such as helpfulness. Thus, what seems to be needed is to identify those features of the urban environment which may influence the occurrence of social behaviour and evaluate the explanatory value of each of these variables.

Some of these aspects of the urban environment include crowding, density, noise, sights and events whose collective impact might be sufficiently stressful to produce certain behavioural changes or adaptations.

As we have already seen in Chapter 1, these effects of the urban environment may be predicted by the findings of psychological research (in both the laboratory and the field) which have been long concerned with the effect of noise, density, crowding, and architectural design which, although the findings are at present rather controversial, suggest the potential adverse psychological and behavioural effects of these factors. For example, a high density and crowding are likely to create problems of interference, and disturbing resources necessary for an individual. Then this in turn may have several psychological and behavioural effects such as stress reactions of psychological arousal,

feelings of anxiety, withdrawal from inter-personal social relationships and interference with task performance. Like density and crowding, noise has negative effects upon behaviour at several levels such as deteriorating effects on task performance and inter-personal relationships, while urban architecture and design features have also been found to influence the pattern of social behaviour and may elicit negative psychological reactions (see Chapter 1 for detailed discussion for these conclusions).

Milgram (1970), by emphasizing these aspects of the urban environment, as already mentioned in Chapter 1, has proposed the input overload explanation for the lower level of helpfulness shown towards strangers in the city. The present research report to be described tested this explanation in field settings in Turkish city and town environments.

According to Milgram (1970), the urban environment generates a higher number of inputs such as sights, sounds, demands and novel events which impinge on the urban residents. This increasing environmental input level will produce a situation of input overload in which a person cannot effectively process the inputs and demands of the environment. Consequently, as Milgram suggests, a person will be forced to develop a series of adaptive, economizing responses in order to cope with the excessive demands of the environment. Hence, the urbanite's adaptation is reflected in his inattentiveness to environmental events, his unresponsiveness to various requests and demands, and internalization of urban norms of behaviour. The picture, then, suggests that an individual undergoing high environmental input will be less attentive or less responsive to others or to the needs of another person who has not a personal claim on his time or obligation (ie a stranger).

Milgram's explanation can be expressed in terms of short term adaptation and long-term adaptation (Korte, 1978): urbanites may vary in responsiveness as a function of adaptation to the immediate level of

environmental bombardment (a short-term adaptation), alternatively as a function of adaptation to the basic general level of inputs that for the most part characterizes the environment (a long-term adaptation). A long-term adaptation to input levels in the environment occurs in the form of a gradual development of mode of responding and norms of behaviours. The behavioural norms (ie norms of non-involvement, withdrawal) are evolved in response to frequent discrete experiences of the general level of input; typical of that given environment (ie district or city). These norms, then, became general modes of responding with inter-personal relationships. Long-term adaptation therefore is indicated by an invariant level of helpfulness which reflects the general level of inputs in the individual's locality. Alternatively, the urbanite may show adaptation to the input level of the immediate situation, becoming more or less responsive to environmental events as the input level decreases or increases. This variation in responsiveness, as research on input overload suggests (Cohen, 1978), could be mediated by several phenomenon such as lowered attentiveness, or awareness, or mental fatigue on decisional processes. Hence, an individual undergoing a high input level may be less attentive to environmental events or cues indicating the need of help, or the high input level may create mental fatigue in individuals thereby reducing their responsiveness to others, ie reduce helpfulness towards a stranger in need.

This second stage of development, Milgram's long-term adaptation, is the major argument for urban/non-urban differences in helpfulness. However, the short-term adaptation explanation is clearly testable as opposed to the long-term one due to the fact that the variables of interest, a city's or district's characteristic input level would be correlated with other potentially influential factors such as SES, heterogeneity, types of community and so on (Korte, 1978). Hence, the present research decided to test the short-term version of this

explanation which predicts a lower level of helpfulness with an increase in the environmental input level and this eliminates the complexity just mentioned. However, confirmation of the short-term adaptation will give some support for the long-term adaptation explanation (Korte et al, 1975). Thus it would partly provide an explanation for the lower level of helpfulness found in the city.

Milgram's short-term adaptation explanation has recently been tested by Korte, Ypma and Toppen (1975) in naturalistic settings in Holland. In order to discriminate environmental input levels, Korte et al developed four measures of environmental inputs namely environmental sound level, a count of traffic and pedestrians and a count of public buildings. By means of these input measures they managed to establish quasi-experimental conditions within two adjacent high and low input settings in a given locality, then they administered these naturalistic helpfulness measures in both settings. The results quite clearly supported Milgram's hypothesis and showed that in sites where there were lower input levels, pedestrians were significantly more likely (a) to grant a street interview, (b) to stop and help a person needing direction, and (c) pick up and retrieve an accidentally dropped key. This study therefore supports the validity of attributing urban helpfulness partly to the influence of the input level of the urban environment.

Further support for the effect of input levels on helpfulness has been found in several other studies: for instance, Matthews and Canon (1975) found decreased helpfulness with an increased level of environmental noise in both laboratory and natural field settings, while Sherrod and Downs (1974) discovered that a lower level of helpfulness was offered to a stranger by subjects who had just been exposed to a high level of overloading noise as opposed to subjects exposed to non-overloading high noise and lower-level noise. Weiner's (1976) study

added further support to the input overload hypothesis by finding that experimental subjects were less likely to assist another student "injured" in a staged accident under conditions of sensory bombardment versus low stimulus overload. Finally, Boles and Hayward (1978) found that the natural ambient noise level caused a decrease in helpfulness and an increase in the walking speed of individuals in the street.

Recently, Korte and Grant (1980) have taken the input overload explanation of helpfulness one step further and have demonstrated that it may be a restriction of environmental awareness as a function of high input overload which decreases the level of helpfulness. Investigating in the field, they found that subjects exposed to a high input level from the environment were less aware of peripheral objects and happenings in their immediate surroundings, and also walked faster keeping their gaze fixed straight ahead. This finding is in line with earlier findings in both the laboratory and the field (Saegert, Mackintosh and West, 1975; Matthews and Canon, 1975; Cohen and Lezak, 1977).

In sum, then, another of the purposes of the present study was to test more stringently the relationship between the environmental input level and helpfulness using naturalistic environmental inputs in cities and towns in Turkey. It was hypothesized that the level of helpfulness shown towards strangers would be higher under the condition of low environmental input level as compared with high environmental input level. That is, within a given geographical area differing input levels would lead to different degrees of helpfulness. Discovery of a relationship between input level and helpfulness over a short-term would support Milgram's argument and, in turn, it would partly provide support for the long-term adaptation explanation of the input overload hypothesis for general urban unhelpfulness.

4.1.5 Sex differences in helpfulness

The present study also afforded an opportunity to examine sex differences in helpfulness in a developing nation. Existing research on sex differences in helping behaviour offer somewhat contradictory and conflicting empirical results (Krebs, 1970; Gergen, Gergen and Meter, 1972, 1977). However, despite this confusing picture, there do seem to be regular sex differences in helpfulness which depend upon the type of situation and the types of helpfulness involved.

Studies by Schopler and Bateson (1965), and Schopler (1967), have found consistent sex differences in helping in dependency situations. Schopler and Bateson (Experiment 1) found that females were more likely to volunteer to help a student who desperately needed help (ie high dependency), whereas males were more likely to volunteer only when the relationship entailed a low level of dependency. In further experiments (Experiments 2 and 3), the same interactional effect of sex differences was found. Schopler and Bateson (1965) and Schopler (1967) interpreted these findings in terms of two social norms, social responsibility and optimizing one's own outcome. According to the authors, because of differences in socialization, males emphasize 'optimizing one's own outcome' to a greater extent than the females who pursue instead the norm of social responsibility.

However, Berkowitz and co-workers (Daniels and Berkowitz, 1963; Berkowitz and Daniel, 1964; Berkowitz and Connor, 1966), in the same type dependency condition, did not support Schopler et al's prediction of sex differences in helpfulness. Furthermore, Rushton (1978), investigating minor acts of altruism, found no differences between male and female subjects in the giving of directions, time, and change money. Confirming this finding, Latane and Darley (1970) also report no sex differences in giving a dime, giving name, in an everyday helping situation.

Nevertheless, if we turn to research which has examined helping behaviour in more obvious and real emergency situations, sex differences in helping behaviour become more evident. Piliavin, Rodin and Piliavin (1969) found males to be more helpful than females in helping a victim, although differences did not reach a statistical significance level. Similarly, Darley and Latane (1968) found that women came to the rescue less frequently than men as the number of by-standers increased. A later study by Schwartz and Clausen (1970) has replicated Darley and Latane's (1968) study and assessed the effect of number of by-standers and competence of the by-standers and information appropriate for action and ascription responsibility. Women were found to be less likely than men to report the emergency and give direct help in the emergency when others (number of by-standers) were present. Also it was found, ascription of responsibility affected the speed and type of help similarly for both sexes.

As the foregoing review suggests, the situation and type of helping required seem to interact with sex although the findings are somewhat contradictory. However, in line with Latane and Darley's (1970) reasoning, it may be expected that whenever a situation presents an element of danger or requires skill and an authoritative response, then a male who is present in the group may be assumed to take charge of the situation. To some extent the reported sex differences reflect this norm.

The findings can be summarized as follows: usually there were no sex differences in helping behaviour when (a) the behaviours required were equally masculine and feminine in orientation, (b) the behaviours were free from cost and threat, and (c) reportorial or indirect means of helping were available and direct assistance was avoidable. It would seem that the absence of sex effects are generally predictable when these factors are controlled (Latane and Darley, 1968, 1970;

Gergen, Gergen and Meter, 1972, 1977).

In a culture such as Turkey, there are traditional concepts of sex roles that stress the importance of a woman avoiding involvement in public settings and particularly contact with strangers (Abadan, 1963; Meeker, 1976). This sex role concept would suggest a prediction of a greater response from a male confronted with a stranger needing assistance than a female, despite the existence of reviewed data from Western countries that suggest no sex differences in helping situation involving small type of assistance. In addition, if traditional values and conceptions wane as a function of urbanization, as suggested by Abadan (1963), then we could expect the helpfulness of males relative to females to be greater in Turkish towns than in Turkish cities. These expectations were tested in the present study with the hope of throwing some further light on the situational specificity of sex differences in social behaviour.

4.1.6 Differences in attitudes and dispositions of urban and non-urban residents as a function of living in city and town

Major urban theories postulate that urban living and urban environment have negative effects not only on an individual's social behaviour but have an effect on an individual's dispositions and attitudes, and the observed behavioural differences are in fact the expression of underlying urban/non-urban differences in dispositions and attitudes. The present study, in addition to examining behavioural differences in helpfulness shown to strangers in various types of Turkish environments, also studied differences in the residents of these environments in attitudes of helpfulness within the context of stranger relationships to evaluate this hypothesis.

According to Wirth (1938), as already seen, the aggregation of a great number of diverse individuals in the city creates a social

structure in which social ties between individuals inevitably loosen. This situation, in turn, has consequences on an individual's personality and attitudes which are reflected in the form of estrangement, superficiality, anonymity and distrustfulness in the course of interaction with other fellow urbanites as well as within primary group relationships (ie kin, friends and neighbours). Similar consequences of city living have also been suggested by Simmel (1950) who maintains that the high level of stimulation of the urban market economy pace, and tempo of urban life compel the urbanite to make adaptations to the environments, which reflect in his character. These personality characteristics, like those of Wirth, may generally be summed up as blasé attitude, calculability and reserve, and distrustfulness.

Additionally, consistent with Wirth's and Simmel's analysis, the structural differentiation analysis, as already seen, predicts development of certain behavioural dispositions such as competitiveness versus cooperativeness and responsible versus individualistic, amongst individuals living in communities highly structurally differentiated versus communities less structurally differentiated (eg city versus town).

However, unlike Wirth or Simmel, Milgram (1970) does not propose that the character of city living has a profound impact on individuals' dispositions, yet he predicts rather a limited consequence on individuals' attitudes which occurs only in the context of stranger relationship. Milgram suggests that urbanites may adapt behaviourally in a number of ways to an overload of urban environment, in terms of both behaviour and attitudes. Yet these adaptations occur only within the context of a stranger relationship without great adjustments in attitudes and values so that this does not affect the character of relationships occurring within the primary group. The experience of input overload environments in the city by urbanites and adaptation to it lead to a development of norms of behaviour. The behavioural norms, eg norm of non-involvement

and withdrawal, are evolved in response to frequent discrete experiences of inputs in the city becoming general modes of responding in the course of inter-personal relationships with other fellow urbanites, ie strangers.

Empirical evidence on this issue reviewed in Chapter 2 are in fact very limited (see Darley and Latane, 1968; Korte, 1970; Schwartz and Clausen, 1970; Gelfand et al, 1973; Weiner, 1976) and suggest very little support for the dispositional explanation of urban social behaviour. However, there were found some differences between urban residents and non-urban residents in attitudes towards strangers which relate to the urban hypothesis, ie trustfulness, helpfulness and suspiciousness. Urban residents hold significantly more suspicious and less trusting attitudes towards strangers than their non-urban counterparts (Fisher, 1973; Franck, 1981). Yet these findings have not thoroughly been substantiated by some of the later studies (see Holanhan, 1978; House and Wolf, 1978; Glenn and Hill, 1977).

In summary, urban environments, as hypothesized, influence underlying dispositions and attitudes of helpfulness and trustfulness, in fact urban helpfulness is a reflection of these dispositions and attitudes. Empirical evidence gives limited support to this hypothesis. However, the existing studies are few in number for this conclusion; furthermore, they are based on mostly aggregate data, thus the area of research needs further investigation (Holahan, 1978).

The present study, in addition to studying helpfulness across various environments such as cities, towns and squatter areas in Turkey, also evaluated the dispositional explanation of urban hypothesis by examining more systematically differences in views of helpfulness across these environments of city, town and city squatter areas.

The measures of views of helpfulness were obtained by means of a short, open-ended questionnaire study conducted in the field in the cities, towns and in the city squatter areas. These measures involved

subjects' judgements of various types of helping acts in a number of situations, their perception of helpful people, recognition of social responsibility, and perception of societal norms and expectancy of helping others. The questionnaire items, comprising four different areas of investigation, seemed to be comprehensive enough to test the urban hypothesis of differences in attitudes of helpfulness across environments varying in size.

In summary, the major aim of the present study was to examine the generality of the relationship between urbanization and helpfulness, in the light of the urban social behaviour theory. This involved first of all a comparison of the level of helpfulness in urban and non-urban environments in Turkey. In addition, the urban environment was differentiated along a number of dimensions, each of which investigated the precise nature of the city's impact on social behaviour in a developing nation: the dimensions were (1) squatter versus non-squatter urban environments, (2) level of urbanization of the different districts of a city, and (3) the level of environmental inputs which characterize any particular locale. The study compared the helpfulness shown to strangers across each of these conditions as well as investigating differences between male and female respondents. In the second part, a survey was carried out with respondents along each dimension of urbanization to examine differences in views of helpfulness, testing the hypothesis that urban environments have an impact on individuals' attitudes, dispositions of helpfulness and trust.

4.2 Method

4.2.1 Overview

Four measures of helpfulness were administered to a total of 1383 subjects, while a questionnaire assessing views concerning helpfulness

was administered to a total of 372 subjects in four towns and two cities in Turkey. The four helpfulness measures were: (a) the response to a request for an interview, (b) the response to a request for change, (c) the response to a person having difficulties retrieving a dropped box, and (d) the response to a lost postcard. The field and questionnaire data were collected by two Turkish nationals, one a male in his early 30s and the other a female in her late 20s, who played the roles of the persons needing assistance. Each measure and questionnaire was administered in the four towns and, for both Istanbul and Ankara, in two squatter settlements and four city districts differing in level of urbanization. In each of these sixteen different locations, two settings of high versus low levels of environmental input were located and served as the actual research sites for that location.

4.2.2 Selection of town and city locations

Four Turkish towns were selected, one each from northern, mid-eastern, central and eastern Turkey, and met the criteria of being large enough to provide settings of both high and low levels of environmental input, and not being appendages of large urban centres or commuter towns. The towns chosen were Bartin (18,409), Kaman (16,516), Yerkoy (19,927) and Karacabey (21,648) (their 1975 populations are given in brackets).

The two principal cities of Turkey, Istanbul and Ankara, were chosen for the urban sample and within each city two squatter settlements and four districts were selected as the research locations.

Squatter settlements. Both Istanbul and Ankara have a number of squatter settlements located in various parts of the city which differ in size, age and other characteristics. In each city, municipal officials were contacted and asked to name the two settlements that they regarded as most representative of the squatter settlements in their city and, on the basis of this, two settlements were selected for

Istanbul - Zeytinburnu and Gaziosmanpasa - and two for Ankara - Kaleici-Yenidogan and Sentepe.

City districts. In order to select four districts in each city that represented different levels of urbanization, a preliminary study was carried out among a sample of 173 respondents contacted on the streets of Istanbul and Ankara. First, a four-part typology of city districts was drawn up, with the four types of districts defined as representing different points on a continuum from highly urbanized sections of the city to those very low in urban characteristics. Urban characteristics were considered to include a high activity and noise level, high traffic and pedestrian density, and a commercial rather than residential character. The resulting typology of four district types is listed below:

(a) district 1 - the most urbanized section of the city, containing the business district, entertainment centres, luxury housing and having high levels of density, noise and population;

(b) district 2 - highly urban section but less urban than district 1 with slightly lower levels of density, noise and population, containing commercial districts, shopping centres, hotels and apartment houses;

(c) district 3 - area of mixed commercial and residential character with a level of urbanization similar to a small city; housing is largely lower middle and working class;

(d) district 4 - suburban areas that are mostly residential with very low levels of urbanization; housing is largely middle and upper middle class.

Then, in each city, sidewalk interviews were conducted with respondents who were given a list of the principal districts of their city (20 in Istanbul and 17 in Ankara) along with the definitions of the four types of districts described above. Respondents were asked to

pick for each district type the one district that best illustrated that type. The selection of districts for this study was then made by taking, for each district type, the district most frequently nominated, resulting in four Istanbul districts (Karakoy, Beyazit, Kadikoy, Eyup and Yesilkoy) and four Ankara districts (Kizilay, Maltepe, Yenimahalle and Gaziosmanpasa).

4.2.3 Selection of settings of high versus low environmental input level

Using the procedures described thus far, sixteen research locations were selected. Within any particular location, the actual site of data collection consisted of two adjacent settings (ie streets or intersections) that were judged as differing in their level of environmental inputs, ie sights, sounds, noise level, traffic and pedestrian density. In each location, settings of high input level were identified by an informal observation of local conditions and this selection was then compared with that made by local judges. There was a high degree of concurrence in these judgements and the high input level setting was invariably the main thoroughfare of the district. A quieter side street adjacent to the high input setting would then be selected as the low input setting in each case.

In addition to this subjective judgement for the selection of high versus low input level conditions for this quasi-experiment, later on objective measures of input level were administered to check the subjective judgements in each condition of high and low input level in a given experimental locale. To measure input level, the measurement procedure of Korte et al (1975) was used. Korte et al (1975), in their Holland study to measure the input level of environment, developed measuring instruments which consisted of recording four environmental features: sound level, traffic density, pedestrian density and the number of visible establishments catering for the public (mostly stores).

The input level measures were administered as follows: (a) for a minute, recordings were made of the sound level at 5 second intervals, using a decibel recorder, located approximately 2.5 metres away from the kerb, (b) for a minute, a count by means of a brand counter was made of vehicles passing a pre-selected line, (c) for a minute, a count was made of pedestrian passing a pre-selected line, (d) a count was made of all shops, supermarkets, banks, entertainment places.

The recordings of the input level measures were taken twice at different hours of the day and at non-consecutive days. From these procedures it was possible to determine the mean sound level, the level of pedestrian and traffic flow, and the number of public buildings in each setting (high versus low) in a given locality. This was done in the sixteen different research locations (squatters, cities, towns).

The results of input measures involving sound level, pedestrian and traffic volumes and counts of public buildings also supported the subjective judgements of subjects of the high and low input conditions in a given locale. In each of the sixteen different locations, two adjacent settings (the high and low input settings), the input data were collected on four different occasions on two non-adjacent days. In analysis, each input measure (sound level, traffic, pedestrian volume, count of public buildings) from the two adjacent settings in the 16 different locations were combined and contrasted, except for the building count ($t\ (30) = 0.50$, ns), on all three input measures: sound level ($t\ (30) = 1.76$, $p < 0.05$), pedestrian volume ($t\ (30) = 1.90$, $p < 0.05$) and traffic volume ($t\ (30) = 1.52$, $p < 0.08$) - marginally significant - were significantly higher in the high input condition than low input condition. Thus high and low input conditions were successfully established (see Appendix for the data on input levels).

The data collection was arranged so that the locational differences were not contaminated by order or time effects. Likewise, in order to

make the data collected from any particular location more representative of that location, two separate visits for data collection were made to each location. The data were collected during the daylight hours, between July and October 1978.

4.2.4 Helpfulness measures

The four helpfulness measures utilized by the present study (except the dropped box measure) have already been used by a number of previously reviewed studies and their validity seems to have been established as helpfulness measures, eg interview measure by Korte, Ypma and Toppen (1975), change money measure by Latane and Darley (1970) and lost postcard measure by Milgram et al (1965), Korte and Kerr (1975), Krupat and Coury (1975), Forbes and Gromoll (1971), Hanson and Slade (1977) and Shotland (1979).

For the four measures described below, a small validity study was carried out to determine whether the response defined as helpfulness was regarded as such within Turkish culture. A sample of 30 subjects were interviewed in public settings and asked whether four particular acts, corresponding to the helpful response on the four measures, could be regarded as helpful or not. The results of this study confirmed the appropriateness of these measures as indicators of helpfulness in Turkish society.

In each of the research locations selected, four measures of helpfulness were administered. Subjects were male and female pedestrians, selected at random by the field researchers. For the interview and change measures, subject selection was done by taking the fifth pedestrian to pass by once a trial had begun, as long as they met the following criteria: (a) they must be unaccompanied, (b) not carrying anything, and (c) between the ages of 18 and 75. Additional details of these measures are provided below.

4.2.5 Interview measure

Four hundred and fifty-six subjects were approached jointly by the male and female field researchers and asked the following by the male researcher, "Excuse me, may I ask you a few questions for a survey study we are carrying out?". The request was made in a friendly manner, all questions were politely answered and no further persuasion was applied to induce cooperation. The field researchers were well equipped to conduct interviews, with a clipboard, pencils and interview forms, and, if the respondent agreed to the request, a five item interview about normative helpfulness which will be described later was administered. Following the interaction, the subject's response was coded by the two field researchers into one of the following four categories (after Korte et al, 1975): (a) subject ignored the researchers, (b) subject listened to the request but declined the interview, (c) subject declined interview but offered a valid excuse, and (d) subject agreed to interview. The first response category proved unnecessary, as there was no occurrence of this behaviour among the Turkish subjects.

4.2.6 Change measure

A total of 463 subjects were approached by the research team and asked (by the male) if they had change for a five lira piece (approximately 10p). Cooperative subjects were thanked for their help and again the response of all subjects was coded according to a four-category scheme: (a) subject ignored the researchers, (b) subject replied superficially, without stopping, that he/she had no change, (c) subject stopped to search for change, appeared basically unwilling to help, and reported having no change, (d) subject appeared quite willing to help, stopped to search for change and then either gave change or reported having none. Again, the first response category proved unnecessary, as no Turkish subjects acted in this manner.

4.2.7 Dropped box measure

This measure was administered to 464 subjects who were selected on the basis of their being the first person encountered in a 25 metre stretch of sidewalk and who met the criteria for inclusion described above. The male researcher, walking towards the subject, was encumbered with a load of three large boxes, stacked on top of each other. Just as he neared the subject (4-5 metres away), he stumbled, losing the top box. His efforts at retrieving the fallen box were futile, as he could not pick up the fallen box without losing the remaining two. The response of the target subject, who in each case was the nearest and usually the only person available to help, was noted and coded according to the following three categories: (a) subject ignored the situation, (b) subject attended to the situation without assisting the researcher, and (c) subject assisted the researcher. The coding was a joint product of the two researchers' judgements, one acting the part of the box dropper, the other observing discretely from a short distance.

4.2.8 Lost postcard measure

A total of 96 stamped, addressed postcards were dispersed at various spots, eg bus stops and supermarkets, always in close proximity to a mail box or post office. The postcard gave the appearance of having been lost by the sender and contained the following important message:

> Dear Aunt,
>
> Thanks for your letter and invitation. I am really excited about it. My bus will arrive in (Istanbul or Ankara) at 2 or 2.30 pm on Friday (date given). Could you please pick me up at the central bus station?
>
> Yours,
>
> (female name)

The data given in the message was always set ten days after the date when the postcards were distributed. The particular female name given served as a code for the location of where the postcard had been dropped. Twenty-four postcards were dropped in each of the following localities: Istanbul, Ankara, the squatter settlements, and the towns.

4.2.9 The questionnaire on views of helpfulness

An open-ended questionnaire on views of helpfulness was developed to investigate possible normative differences between residents of environments differing in the level of urbanization. The questionnaire was administered in street interviews to a total of 349 randomly-chosen male and female city, town and squatter residents where helpfulness data were collected. The questionnaire was administered to those 349 out of 456 subjects asked who agreed to be interviewed by two male and female field experimenters (see interview measure section for subject selection administration procedure).

The first item in the questionnaire is concerned with how a helpful person is perceived by respondents. The second item in the questionnair sought to find out respondents' feelings about giving assistance to others in need. And in the third item subjects were presented with three types of helping situations and asked whether they would help. The final item in the questionnaire was concerned with societal expectancy or norms about helping others in need. These four items were aimed at exploring respondents' attitudes and dispositions of helping behaviour at personal and societal level.

The questionnaire development and pre-testing were done through several informal interviews with Istanbul respondents. The final form of the questionnaire was as follows:

Survey on Public Views of Helpfulness

1. How would you define a helpful person?
2. Do you feel any responsibility to help someone who is apparently in need of assistance?
3. If someone were to approach you with types of request as shown below, would you feel like giving assistance?
   (a) asking you the location of an address you happen to know;
   (b) asking you for change;
   (c) asking for your assistance in carrying an awkward load for a short distance.
4. Do you feel that giving assistance to strangers is generally accepted in our society? Why is this so, and can you think of any sayings or principles that state how we should treat strangers in need of assistance?

4.3 Results

The overall rate of helpfulness toward strangers obtained in Turkey was quite favourable, with the exception of the results using the lost postcard measure. For each of the interviews, dropped box and change measures, at least 70% of the respondents fell into the most helpful category.

It is interesting to note that on the interview measure, which had been administered in an identical fashion in Holland (Korte et al, 1975), the Turkish respondents were significantly more helpful than the Dutch respondents had been (see Table 1).

Table 1

Comparison of Turkish and Dutch respondents on their willingness to agree to a request for an interview

Response Category[a]	Turkey	Holland[b]
Ignore	0%	3.5%
No	4.8%	9.5%
No with excuse	16.7%	19.3%
Yes	78.5%	67.7%
	(n = 456)	(n = 400)

Note: Chi-square analysis comparing the frequency distribution of Turkish and Dutch respondents showed a significant difference, $\chi^2(3) = 27.02$, $p < .01$.

[a] See text for an explanation of these categories.

[b] These data are taken from Korte et al (1975).

The overall return of the lost postcards (13.5%) was considerably lower than what has usually been found with this measure (see, eg, Milgram, 1970; Korte and Kerr, 1975; Krupat and Coury, 1975; Kamman, Thompson and Irwin, 1979; Hanson and Slade, 1977; Shotland, 1979). Secondly, as will be seen later, the pattern of helpfulness which was obtained with this measure was quite mixed and showed no parallel with other helpfulness measures utilized in this study. Results of the lost postcard study will be reported at the end of this section.

4.3.1 Helpfulness in city, town and squatter settlement

Before comparing the helpfulness rates between the different sub-groups, the comparability of these sub-groups in terms of their male/

female composition was examined. This was necessary as the subject's sex showed a relationship with two of the helping measures (see Table 2): males were significantly more helpful on interview measure ($\chi^2(2) = 42.48$, $p < .01$), somewhat more helpful on the dropped box measure ($\chi^2(2) = 5.12$, $p < .10$), and no different from females on the change measure ($\chi^2(2) = 1.77$, ns).

Table 2

Comparison of male and female respondents on their response to the three helpfulness measures

	Frequency of Response Category (in %)	
	Male	Female
Change measure[a]		
No stopping	14.2	19.1
Reluctant stopping	13.9	13.7
Effort to help	72.0	67.2
	(n = 332)	(n = 131)
Interview measure[b]		
Decline	2.4	12.1
Decline with excuse	12.1	30.2
Agree	85.6	57.8
	(n = 340)	(n = 116)
Dropped box measure[c]		
Ignore	2.4	6.3
Notice	24.2	28.3
Help	72.4	65.4
	(n = 337)	(n = 127)

[a] $\chi^2(2) = 1.77$, ns

[b] $\chi^2(2) = 42.48$, $p < .01$

[c] $\chi^2(2) = 5.12$, $p < .10$

Given this outcome, comparisons of various sub-groups on the interview and dropped box measure were carried out separately for male and female subjects when those sub-groups differed in their male/female composition. In many cases, this meant, in effect, carrying out the comparison with only the male subjects, as the number of female subjects was often too low to draw any meaningful comparisons with the female subjects alone. The low number of female subjects, 37% of the total sample, is probably a reflection of Moslem norms which restrict the public activity of women, particularly their contact with strangers.

A comparison of the city, city squatter and town samples on the helpfulness measures showed less helpfulness in the city than the town while the level of helpfulness obtained in the squatter settlements resembled that found in the towns rather than in the cities. This pattern proved consistent across the three different measures of helpfulness, and for the separate comparisons within the male and female samples, with the one exception of the results for the female subjects, using the interview measure.

On the change measure (see Table 3), helpfulness was highest among the squatter residents, followed by the town residents, with city residents at a distant third.

The city residents were significantly less helpful than both the town ($\chi^2(2) = 27.58$, $p < .01$) and squatter residents ($\chi^2(2) = 37.84$, $p < .01$) while these latter two groups did not differ significantly from each other. This same pattern was obtained for both the male and female samples analyzed separately.

Results comparing city, town and squatter settlements, using the interview measure, differed between the male and female samples, due to the large drop off in helpfulness among city squatter females. For the male respondents, the results parallelled those found with the change measure: city respondents were significantly less helpful than

Table 3

Comparison of city, town and city squatter residents on the four measures of helpfulness

	Frequency of Response Categories (in %)			
Change measure (male and females combined)[a]	City	Town	City Squatter	Total
No stopping	24.2	7.7	5.5	15.6
Reluctant stopping	20.3	8.5	5.5	13.8
Effort to help	55.5	83.8	89.1	70.6
	(n=236)	(n=117)	(n=110)	(n=463)
Interview measure: males[b]				
Decline	4.3	0	1.2	2.4
Decline with excuse	18.6	7.1	4.9	12.1
Agree	77.0	92.9	93.8	85.6
	(n=161)	(n=98)	(n=81)	(n=340)
Interview measure: females[c]				
Decline	11.9	0	21.4	12.1
Decline with excuse	20.0	23.8	35.7	30.2
Agree	58.2	76.2	42.9	57.8
	(n=67)	(n=21)	(n=28)	(n=116)
Dropped box measure: males[d]				
Ignore	3.7	1.1	1.2	2.4
Notice	41.4	12.9	7.3	25.2
Help	54.9	86.0	91.5	72.4
	(n=162)	(n=93)	(n=82)	(n=337)

Table 3 (continued)

Dropped box measure: females[e]				
Ignore	6.9	3.7	7.1	6.3
Notice	36.1	25.9	10.7	28.3
Help	56.9	70.4	82.1	65.4
	(n=72)	(n=27)	(n=28)	(n=127)

[a] Chi-square analysis showed a significant association between locale and helpfulness, $\chi^2(4) = 54.07$, $p < .01$. The city respondents were significantly less helpful than the town respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 27.58$, $p < .01$) and the city squatter respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 37.84$, $p < .01$), while the town and city squatter respondents were not significantly different from each other ($\chi^2(2) = 1.39$, ns).

[b] Chi-square analysis showed a significant association between locale and helpfulness, $\chi^2(4) = 19.22$, $p < .01$. The city respondents were significantly less helpful than the town respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 11.73$, $p < .01$) and the city squatter respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 10.62$, $p < .01$), while the town and city squatter respondents did not differ from each other in helpfulness ($\chi^2(2) = 1.57$, ns).

[c] Chi-square analysis showed no significant association between locale and helpfulness, $\chi^2(4) = 7.45$, ns. The city squatter respondents were significantly less helpful than the town respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 7.39$, $p < .05$), while the city respondents did not differ significantly from either the town respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 3.54$, ns) or the city squatter respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 2.28$, ns).

[d] Chi-square analysis showed a significant association between locale and helpfulness, $\chi^2(4) = 48.39$, $p < .01$. The city respondents were significantly less helpful than the town respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 25.54$, $p < .01$) and the city squatter respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 33.06$, $p < .01$),

Table 3 (continued)

while the town and city squatter respondents were not significantly different from each other ($\chi^2(2) = 1.48$, ns).

[e] Chi-square analysis showed no significant association between locale and helpfulness, $\chi^2(4) = 7.12$, ns. The city respondents were significantly less helpful than the city squatter respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 6.49$, $p < .05$), while the town respondents did not differ significantly from either the city respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 1.54$, ns) or the city squatter respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 2.30$, ns).

both the town ($\chi^2(2) = 11.73$, $p < .01$) and city squatter respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 10.62$, $p < .01$), while those two groups did not differ from each other in helpfulness. Female city respondents were less helpful than their town counterparts, though this difference did not reach significance ($\chi^2(2) = 3.54$). As already noted, the female city squatter respondents were the least helpful on this measure, significantly less so than the town respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 7.39$, $p < .05$). These comparisons using only the female subjects are based on quite a small sample size and hence the results using the data from male subjects must be regarded as far more reliable.

On the third helpfulness measure, the response to the dropped box, consistent results were again found. For the male respondents, the city squatter residents were slightly more helpful than the town residents and both groups were significantly more helpful than the city residents ($\chi^2(2) = 33.06$, $p < .01$ and $\chi^2(2) = 25.54$, $p < .01$, respectively). The same ordering of helpfulness was obtained for the female respondents, though the only significant difference was between the city and city squatter residents ($\chi^2(2) = 6.49$, $p < .05$). In sum, then, with the exception of the female respondents on the interview measure, it can be said that the city squatter residents were equivalent in helpfulness to the town residents and that both these groups were considerably more helpful (usually significantly so) than the city residents.

Further analysis was carried out to compare the different locations within each category (ie towns, cities, squatter settlements) in terms of their level of helpfulness. For this analysis, male and female respondents were combined when the various groups being compared did not differ significantly ($p > .10$, to be conservative) in their male/female composition. When the composition did differ, this is indicated by the separate reporting of male and female results.

Comparison of the four towns showed no significant differences on any of the three helpfulness measures: change ($\chi^2(6) = 1.75$, ns), interview ($\chi^2(3) = 2.15$, ns) and dropped box ($\chi^2(6) = 10.22$, ns). Comparison of the two cities is perhaps more meaningful, as the two cities used, Ankara and Istanbul, are both prominent and enjoy high-standing in Turkey. The results showed more helpfulness in Ankara than Istanbul (exclusive of the squatter settlements), though this difference approached significance only on the dropped box measure ($\chi^2(2) = 5.11$, $p < .08$). Comparison of the four squatter settlements included in this study (two in Istanbul and two in Ankara) showed marginally significant differences between them on the change measure ($\chi^2(6) = 10.93$, $p < .10$) and the interview measure ($\chi^2(6) = 10.69$, $p < .10$) and no difference on the dropped box measure ($\chi^2(6) = 9.55$, ns). This outcome reflects the fact that there was a generally consistent ranking of the four settlements in terms of their helpfulness on the three measures; Sentepe (in Ankara) was the most helpful of the four settlements on each of the three measures, while Zeytinburnu (in Istanbul) showed the least helpfulness on two of the measures and the next least helpful on the third measure.

4.3.2 The level of helpfulness in city districts which differ in their level of urbanization

A consistent pattern of differences in helpfulness between the four city districts occurred with each of the three helpfulness measures. Across the first (ie highly urbanized section), the second (ie second degree of urbanized section) and the third (ie a section of city akin to a small city, housing lower middle class and working class), there was a consistent increase in the level of helpfulness, while the fourth district (ie suburban areas, very low urbanization; housing largely middle class and upper middle class) showed the least

helpfulness of all four (see Table 4).

A significant difference in helpfulness between districts was obtained only with the change measure ($\chi^2(6) = 22.37$, $p < .01$); the interview and dropped box measures showed an identical pattern of differences between districts but with neither of these measures was a significant level of association reached ($\chi^2(6) = 5.36$, ns and $\chi^2(6) = 10.27$, ns, respectively). This same rank order of districts by helpfulness level prevailed for the Istanbul and Ankara samples analyzed separately, with one exception: on the change measure in Ankara, district 1 was the least helpful district, with district 4 the next least helpful. It is interesting to compare the most helpful area of Istanbul and Ankara, district 3, with the city squatter settlements and the towns where generally high levels of helpfulness were obtained. For each of the three measures, the squatter sample was more helpful than the district 3 sample, though this reached significance (using male subjects only; the female sample was too small for separate analysis) only on the dropped box measure ($\chi^2(2) = 11.76$, $p < .01$). The town residents were also more helpful than district 3 subjects on each of the three helpfulness measures, significantly so on the dropped box measure ($\chi^2(2) = 6.19$, $p < .05$) and interview measure ($\chi^2(2) = 6.67$, $p < .05$); again, only the male subjects were used in making these comparisons.

4.3.3 Input level

The helpfulness measures were also analyzed for their relation to the input level variable, to see whether less helpfulness occurred under conditions of high versus low environmental input as predicted by the input overload hypothesis of Milgram (1970). In an overall comparison between the high and low input locales, environmental input level had a general impact on the occurrence of helpfulness. There was uniformly

Table 4

Comparison of the four city districts on the three measures of helpfulness (male and female combined)

	Frequency of Response Cateogry (in %)				
	District				Total
	1	2	3	4	
Change measure[a]					
No stopping	28.4	21.7	10.4	32.8	24.2
Reluctant stopping	26.9	16.7	8.3	26.2	20.3
Effort to help	44.8	61.7	81.3	41.0	55.5
	(n=67)	(n=60)	(n=48)	(n=61)	(n=236)
Interview measure[b]					
Decline	3.3	8.3	4.2	10.0	6.6
Decline with excuse	16.7	18.3	16.7	25.0	21.9
Agree	70.0	73.3	79.2	65.0	71.5
	(n=60)	(n=60)	(n=48)	(n=60)	(n=228)
Dropped box measure[c]					
Ignore	4.8	6.7	0	6.5	4.7
Notice	42.9	33.3	30.6	50.5	39.7
Help	52.4	60.0	69.4	43.5	55.7
	(n=63)	(n=60)	(n=49)	(n=62)	(n=234)

Note: Istanbul and Ankara data are combined, with the squatter settlements excluded.

[a] Chi-square analysis showed a significant association between districts and helpfulness, $\chi^2(6) = 22.37$, $p < .01$. The helpfulness obtained in district 3 was significantly or marginally significantly higher than that obtained in the other districts: versus district 1

Table 4 (continued)

($\chi^2(2) = 15.53$, $p < .01$), district 2 ($\chi^2(2) = 4.91$, $p < .10$) and district 4 ($\chi^2(2) = 17.98$, $p < .01$). In addition, district 2 was marginally significantly more helpful than district 4 ($\chi^2(2) = 5.18$, $p < .08$). No other significant differences occurred between districts.

[b] Chi-square analysis showed no significant association between districts and helpfulness ($\chi^2(6) = 5.36$, ns), nor any significant differences in helpfulness between any particular pair of districts.

[c] Chi-square analysis showed no significant association between districts and helpfulness ($\chi^2(6) = 10.27 = 33.06$, ns). District 3 was significantly more helpful than district 4 ($\chi^2(2) = 8.97$, $p < .02$) and marginally significantly more helpful than district 1 ($\chi^2(2) = 4.77$, $p < .10$). No other differences were significant.

greater helpfulness in the low input settings in the three helpfulness measures, though the difference was only statistically significant for female respondents on the change measure ($\chi^2(2) = 11.17$, $p < .01$) and the dropped box measure ($\chi^2(2) = 11.85$, $p < .01$) (see Table 5). For males the differences in helpfulness between the low versus high input settings did not reach statistical significance.

A log-linear analysis (Fox, 1979) was undertaken to evaluate interaction between variables: locale (city, town, city squatters), input level and sex, on each of the three helpfulness measures. Since the analyses so far presented repetitive single χ^2 analysis they do not allow us to see clearly interactions between variables. First, the effect of locale - city, town, squatter - and environmental input level on the three helpfulness measures were evaluated by dichotomizing each helpfulness measure into the categories of help and no help and applying a log-linear analysis (see Fox, 1979, and Kenny, 1976, for further information on log-linear/logit models). For each of the three measures, using separately data from male and female subjects, no interaction between locale and input level variables was found (see Table 6).

Further analysis was undertaken to see whether the overall level of environmental input across urban environments studied varies so that this, in line with Milgram's explanation, might account for the observed level of helpfulness in these environments. Analysis of the input measures suggested that the high levels of environmental input were characteristics of Turkish urban environments that distinguishes them from towns. Combining the high and low input settings the city locales were found significantly higher than the town in sound level ($t(264) = 14.05$, $p < .01$), in pedestrian density ($t(46) = 3.29$, $p < .01$), and in traffic level ($t(46) = 4.26$, $p < .01$), and than the squatter settlements in sound ($t(264) = 4.10$, $p < .01$), in pedestrian density ($t(46) = 2.38$, $p < .01$), in traffic level ($t(46) = 3.48$, $p < .01$). Also, the squatter settlements in the city were significantly higher than the town in sound level ($t(264) = 21.75$, $p < .01$), in pedestrian density ($t(46) = 2.48$, $p < .01$), and in traffic level ($t(46) = 3.18$, $p < .01$) (see Appendix, p vii).

Differences between urban and non-urban environments in the input level parallels the observed city/town differences in helpfulness. By contrast, the input level findings did not correspond to the differences in helpfulness between the town and the city squatter

settlements. The city squatter settlements had significantly higher environmental input level, but in the level of helpfulness the city squatter residents were slightly higher than their town counterparts in all measures of helpfulness, though not significantly. Hence this analysis suggests that the helpfulness in the city-squatter settlements should be explained by non-environmental factors, for example, socio-cultural characteristics of the squatter settlements.

Also, an analysis of the environmental input level for the city districts was carried out by comparing only district 1 to district 4, due to their being extreme point in the level of urbanization within the city environments. District 1 was significantly higher than district 4 in all measures of the input level (see Appendix, p vii); in sound level ($t(174) = 55.4$, $p < .01$), in pedestrian density ($t(14) = 10.4$, $p < .01$), and in traffic level ($t(14) = 32.16$, $p < .01$).

Again, as observed between the city squatter settlements and the town, comparison of city district 1 (the most urbanized section of the city) and city district 4 suggested that the environmental input level cannot be an explanation for the observed differences in helpfulness between these two city districts. Although district 4 was significantly lower than district 1 in its level of various environmental input level, against the expectation of the input overload hypothesis, it exhibited a lower level of helpfulness than district 1 and was the least helpful district of all four city districts studied (see Table 4). It is interesting to note that the level of environmental input in district 4 was even lower than that observed in the town (see Appendix, p vii). Hence this suggests looking beyond the input level as an explanation of helpfulness in district 4.

4.3.4 Sex differences in helpfulness

Finally, considering the sex differences in helpfulness, Turkish males were significantly more helpful than females on interview measures, somewhat more helpful on the dropped box measure (marginal significance) and no different on the money change measure (see Table 2). An analysis to see whether these differences became weaker in the city versus town (or city squatter) sample showed generally no change in sex differences between town, city and city squatter. Separate log-linear analysis of the interaction between sex and locale showed a significant interaction effect for only one of the three helpfulness measures, the interview measure ($\chi^2(2) = 11.16$, $p < .01$). This interaction reflects

Table 5

Helpfulness in high and low environmental input settings with male and female subjects compared

	Frequency of Response Category (in %)	
	High input setting	Low input setting
Change measure: males[a]		
No stopping	16.1	12.0
Reluctant stopping	14.9	12.7
Effort to help	69.0	75.3
	(n=174)	(n=158)
Change measure: females[b]		
No stopping	30.4	10.7
Reluctant stopping	17.9	10.7
Effort to help	51.8	78.7
	(n=56)	(n=75)
Interview measure: males[c]		
Decline	3.4	1.2
Decline with excuse	13.1	10.9
Agree	83.4	87.9
	(n=175)	(n=165)
Interview measure: females[d]		
Decline	13.0	11.3
Decline with excuse	35.2	25.8
Agree	51.9	62.9
	(n=54)	(n=62)

Table 5 (continued)

Dropped box measure: males[e]		
Ignore	3.4	1.3
Notice	27.9	22.2
Help	68.7	76.6
	(n=179)	(n=158)
Dropped box measure: females[f]		
Ignore	10.9	2.8
Notice	40.0	19.4
Help	49.1	77.8
	(n=55)	(n=72)

[a] $\chi^2(2) = 1.74$, ns

[b] $\chi^2(2) = 11.17$, $p < .01$

[c] $\chi^2(2) = 2.32$, ns

[d] $\chi^2(2) = 1.52$, ns

[e] $\chi^2(2) = 3.37$, ns

[f] $\chi^2(2) = 11.85$, $p < .01$

Table 6

Helpfulness of male and female Turkish subjects by locale and input level

Locale	Input	Interview Help[a]			Change Help[b]			Box Help[c]		
		Yes	No	Logit[1]	Yes	No	Logit	Yes	No	Logit
Male subjects										
City	High	58	23	0.92	40	42	-0.06	44	40	0.09
	Low	66	14	1.54	52	31	0.54	46	32	0.35
Town	High	46	4	2.43	42	8	1.66	42	7	1.78
	Low	45	3	2.70	39	5	2.06	38	6	1.83
Squatter	High	42	2	3.04	38	4	2.24	38	6	1.83
	Low	36	1	3.58	27	4	1.91	36	1	3.58
	N	293	47		238	94		244	92	
Female subjects										
City	High	19	15	0.23[d]	16	20	-0.23[e]	18	17	0.06[f]
	Low	21	12	0.55	22	13	0.52	23	14	0.49
Town	High	7	2	0.84	3	4	0.51	4	7	0.56
	Low	9	3	1.09	14	2	1.93	15	1	2.70
Squatter	High	4	7	-0.56	10	3	1.21	7	4	0.55
	Low	9	8	0.11	23	1	3.13	16	1	2.77
	N	69	47		88	43		83	44	

[1] Logit = ln (frequency yes/frequency no). Logit is log-dependent variable odds for each combination of independent variable categories.

[a] The model which contains only locality effect fits the observed data ($\chi^2(2) = 44.41$, $p < .01$).

Table 6 (continued)

[b] The model which contains only locality effect fits the observed data ($\chi^2(2) = 24.08$, $p < .01$).

[c] The model which contains only locality effect fits the observed data ($\chi^2(2) = 49.5$, $p < .01$).

[d] The model which contains both locality effect and input level effect fits the observed data: (locality) $\chi^2(2) = 13.48$, $p < .01$

(input) $\chi^2(1) = 8.0$, $p < .01$.

[e] No interaction occurred.

[f] The model which contains only input effect fits the observed data ($\chi^2(1) = 8.83$, $p < .01$).

Table 7

Helpfulness of Turkish subjects by sex and locale

Sex of subjects	Locale	Interview Help[a]			Change Help[b]			Box Help[c]		
		Yes	No	Logit[1]	Yes	No	Logit	Yes	No	Logit
Male	City	124	37	1.20	92	73	0.23	89	73	0.18
	Town	91	7	2.56	81	13	1.82	80	13	1.81
	Squatter	76	5	2.72	66	7	2.23	75	7	2.36
Female	City	39	28	0.32	39	32	0.20	41	31	0.27
	Town	16	5	1.16	17	6	1.03	19	8	0.86
	Squatter	12	16	0.29	32	5	1.85	23	5	1.52

[1] Logit = In (frequency yes/frequency no). Logit is log-dependent variable odds for each combination of independent variable categories.

[a] The model which includes sex X locale interaction fits the observed data ($\chi^2(2) = 11.16$, $p < .01$).

[b] The model which includes locale effect fits the observed data ($\chi^2(2) = 56.47$, $p < .01$).

[c] The model which includes locale effect fits the observed data ($\chi^2(2) = 53.35$, $p < .01$).

Table 8

Helpfulness of Turkish subjects by sex and input level

Sex of subjects	Input level	Interview Help[a]			Change Help[b]			Box Help[c]		
		Yes	No	Logit[1]	Yes	No	Logit	Yes	No	Logit
Male	High	146	29	1.61	120	54	0.79	123	56	0.78
	Low	145	20	1.97	119	39	1.10	121	37	1.18
Female	High	28	26	0.07	29	27	0.06	27	28	0.05
	Low	39	23	0.52	59	16	1.29	56	16	1.24

[1] Logit = In (frequency yes/frequency no). Logit is log-dependent variable odds for each combination of independent variable categories.

[a] The model which includes sex effect fits the observed data ($\chi^2(1) = 36.93$, $p < .01$).

[b] The model which includes sex x input interaction fits the observed data ($\chi^2(1) = 4.03$, $p < .05$).

[c] The model which includes sex x input interaction marginally fits the observed data ($\chi^2(1) = 3.77$, $p < .06$).

the unusually strong sex effect obtained in the squatter sample in comparison with the town and city samples, though in all three groups males were significantly more helpful than females (see Table 7). Separate log-linear analysis of the interaction between sex and input level revealed a significant interaction effect for the money change measure ($\chi^2(1) = 4.03$, $p < .05$) and a marginally significant interaction effect for the dropped box measure ($\chi^2(1) = 3.77$, $p < .06$); no interaction occurred on the interview measure. These interaction effects reflect the previously reported results for the input level effect which was non-existent for males, yet significant for females for the money change and dropped box measures (see Table 8).

Finally, results from the lost postcard measure of helpfulness have not been reported for the various comparisons drawn, due to the very low return rate obtained with this measure (see Table 9). This made the reliability of this measure very uncertain. The actual return rates for the three types of localities were as follows: cities, 18.8%; squatter settlements, 0%; towns, 16.7%.

Table 9

Number of lost postcards returned

Number of postcards	Cities	Towns	Squatters	%
Returned	9	4	0	13.5
Non-returned	39	20	24	86.5
Total (N)	48	24	24	(n=96)

There are two lines of explanation which may throw some light on why the lost postcard measure in Turkey had such a low return rate. This result may well be attributable to a high illiteracy rate of these populations in Turkey (Turkish Population Statistics, 1975). This result can also be explained in terms of Turkish culture. In Turkish and Middle Eastern culture, a greater emphasis on face to face interpersonal communication is placed as opposed to other types of communications (Meeker, 1976; Dubsky, 1973) - especially this behavioural pattern among the rural and town population is more common. Possibly one of these two explanations may account for the low return rate obtained in the lost postcard measure in Turkey. Yet this present result has an implication on the cross-cultural validity of the lost letter technique as a behavioural measure. First, this measure should not be administered on a population with high illiteracy; second, the related cultural characteristics of the population must be taken into account for this measure.

4.3.5 Differences between urban and non-urban residents in attitudes and dispositions of helpfulness

The questionnaire on views of helpfulness was open ended and consisted of items such as: perception of a helpful person; feeling of responsibility to giving assistance to other persons; willingness to help others in three different helping situations, and finally perception of societal expectances as to one's giving assistance to others in need. On responses for each item of the questionnaire a content-analysis was carried out to develop response categories for each item. In order to do this, responses for each item on the questionnaire were grouped according to their content (except for the third item for

which there was a pre-developed three-point response category). This resulted in four or five response categories for each of the questionnaire items, then chi-square analyses were carried out to find out differences between groups (city, town and city-squatters) in their responses to each questionnaire item.

Item 1: Perception of a helpful person

Responses in this item initially fell into nine categories and 'I do not know' responses which constitute 4.06% with a distribution of 14.9% females and 0.3% males were discarded from the analysis. However, later on, by combining somewhat similar responses, the number of categories within this item were reduced to four distinct categories. These categories were as follows:

(a) someone who puts someone else's needs before his in any situation;

(b) someone who donates money to poor people;

(c) someone who is generally cooperative and willing to go out of his way to assist another person;

(d) someone who lends things to help other persons.

Before comparing the response rates within each item between city, town, city squatter respondents, the comparability of these groups in terms of their male and female composition for each item was examined. This was necessary as the respondent's sex often showed a relationship with responses to items, as will be seen later. Looking at the female and male response to item 1 (see Table 10), male respondents did not significantly differ from female counterparts in their perception of a helpful person ($\chi^2(2) = 2.11$, ns). The male and female data were therefore combined and comparisons of various sub-groups were carried out on

Table 10

Comparison of Turkish male and female respondents on their response to the definition of a helpful person[a]

	Frequency of Response Category (in %)		
	Male	Female	Total
1. Someone who puts someone else's needs before his own, in any situation.	22.7	27.7	23.5
2. Someone who donates money to the poor people.	70.0	61.1	68.6
3. Someone who is generally cooperative and willing to go out of his way to assist another person.	7.24	11.2	7.8
4. Someone who lends things to help others.	0	0	0
	(n=290)	(n=54)	(n=344)

Note: Only a few Turkish respondents fell into the category 4 that were omitted in the analysis.

[a] $\chi^2(2) = 2.11$, ns.

this response. In responses to other items, ie items 2, 3 and 4, a separate analysis with only the male and the female group was made for comparison of various sub-groups. However, as there were too few female respondents (18.1%) - as observed earlier in the analysis of helpfulness data - it was difficult to draw a conclusion out of various sub-groups comparisons with only female data alone: in a number of cases, this meant relying on the data of male subjects only.

A comparison of the city, city squatter and town samples (male and female combined) on the response to their perception of a helpful person differed significantly from each other ($\chi^2(4) = 19.22$, $p < .01$) (see Table 11).

The city respondents differed significantly from both the town respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 7.72$, $p < .01$) and the squatter respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 16.55$, $p < .01$), while the town and the squatter respondents only differ marginally from each other ($\chi^2(2) = 5.81$, $p < .09$). By looking at response categories it may be possible to discern a different pattern of helping behaviour that a helpful person possesses in the definitions. In the first category (ie a person who puts someone else's needs before his own in any situation), the definition seems to lay stress on helping dimensions in a helpful person that includes helping by a person in various situations and moreover without expectation of any type of reward as a result of his helping behaviour. Compared with the latter three categories of definitions that include only certain helping dimensions (ie donating money, being generally a cooperative person and lending things to others), the first category - a person who puts someone else's needs before his own in any situation - constitutes a higher level of definition. This reasoning is also consistent with the definition of altruism and helping behaviour given by Berkowitz and his co-workers (1963, 1964, 1966, 1970) and Aronfreed (1970). According to Berkowitz and Aronfreed, altruism is a mode of

Table 11

Comparison of city, town and city squatters on their responses to the definition of a helpful person[a]

	Frequency of response category (in %)			
	City	Town	City Squatter	Total
Response categories male and female combined				
1. Someone who puts someone else's needs before his own, in any situation.	20.6	28.1	21.9	23.25
2. Someone who donates money to the poor people.	64.6	66.9	78.02	68.8
3. Someone who is generally cooperative and willing to go out of his way to assist another person.	14.6	4.8	0	7.8
	(n=158)	(n=103)	(n=91)	(n=344)

[a] $\chi^2(4) = 19.22$, $p < .01$

1 The city vs town ($\chi^2(2) = 7.72$, $p < .01$).

2 The city vs the city squatter ($\chi^2(2) = 16.55$, $p < .01$).

3 The town vs the city squatter ($\chi^2(2) = 5.81$, $p < .09$) (marginally significant).

behaviour carried out to benefit another without anticipation of rewards from external and internal (Aronfreed) resources; it is only carried out for purposes that have consequences for another person.

According to this criteria, the four categories of a helpful person definitions may be ordered higher to lower definitions: (1) person who puts someone else's needs before his own; (2) donating money; (3) being generally a cooperative person; (4) lending things to others. The preceding analysis suggested that, compared with the town and city squatter respondents, the city respondents perceived a helpful person with limited helping dimensions (ie more a generally cooperative person) and the male and female respondents did not differ in this respect.

Item 2: Feeling of responsibility about helping others in need

On the second item, the response to the personal feeling of responsibility about helping others in need, the respondents' response, falls into four different categories:

(a) Yes, it is one's duty to ease one's fellows' distress;

(b) Yes, it should be reciprocal; I may, in turn, need help some time from others;

(c) generally no responsibility, depends on situation, ie kind of request or person who makes the request;

(d) no responsibility to help.

Before comparing responses of sub-groups, male and female composition was examined on response help , since there was a significant difference between sex and responses ($\chi^2(3) = 9.65$, $p < .02$) (see Table 12). The male respondents felt more responsibility to help others than their female counterparts, especially the female respondents more than the male respondents (31.1% vs 17.5%) felt that giving help depends on the situation and person seeking help.

Table 12

Comparison of Turkish male and female respondents on their feelings of responsibility to help someone who needs assistance[1]

	Frequency of responses (in %)		
	Male	Female	Total
Response categories			
1. Non-conditional duty to help	64.9	46.0	61.4
2. Reciprocal	10.8	17.5	12.0
3. Conditional (depends on situation or person)	17.5	30.1	19.8
4. No responsibility	6.66	6.4	6.6
	(n=285)	(n=63)	(n=348)

[1] $\chi^2(3) = 9.65$, $p < .02$

Given this outcome, comparison of city, town and city squatters on responses to this item was carried out separately for each male and female respondent. A chi-square analysis on the male respondents' responses showed a significant association between locale and respondents' personal responsibility to help others in need ($\chi^2(6) = 85.18$, $p < .01$) (see Table 13).

The city male respondents felt significantly less non-conditional feeling of responsibility to help others in need than the town respondents ($\chi^2(3) = 35.31$, $p < .01$) and than the squatter male respondents ($\chi^2(3) = 60.98$, $p < .01$), while the town and the squatter male respondents felt a similar degree of responsibility to help others in need ($\chi^2(3) = 5.67$, ns). Comparison within the female respondents for differences in three sub-groups (city, town, city squatter) revealed no significant differences in responses ($\chi^2(6) = 6.2$, ns). Also, there were no significant differences between the city and the town female respondents' response ($\chi^2(3) = 3.25$, ns) and as well as the city and the city squatter female respondents ($\chi^2(3) = 5.27$, ns), while comparison of the town and the city squatter respondents did not significantly differ in this respect ($\chi^2(3) = 1.00$, ns). In sum, then, the male respondents generally felt more non-conditional responsibility that one should help others in need as compared to the female respondents. Within the male group, the town and the city squatter respondents felt significantly more personal responsibility for helping than the city respondents. However, the Turkish females, regardless of where they lived, did not significantly differ from each other. But, on the other hand, the female group was too small in number to draw much of a conclusion. Therefore the results using the data from male respondents must be regarded as far more reliable.

Table 13

Comparison of city, town and squatter respondents on their feelings of responsibility about helping someone who needs assistance

	Frequency of responses (in %)			
	City	Town	City squatter	Total
A. Response categories for males only				
1. Non-conditional duty to help	36.1	81.1	90.7	64.9
2. Reciprocal	14.2	8.8	7.8	10.87
3. Conditional (depends on situation or person)	35.2	7.7	1.3	17.5
4. No responsibility	14.2	2.2	0	6.66
	(n=119)	(n=90)	(n=76)	(n=285)
B. Response categories for females only				
1. Non-conditional duty to help	35.1	53.3	72.7	46.0
2. Reciprocal	21.6	13.3	9.09	17.5
3. Conditional (depends on situation or person)	32.4	33.3	18.1	30.1
4. No responsibility	10.8	0	0	6.34
	(n=37)	(n=15)	(n=11)	(n=63)

A. $\chi^2(6) = 85.18$, $p < .01$

Male: [1] city vs town ($\chi^2(3) = 35.31$, $p < .01$)

[2] city vs squatter ($\chi^2(3) = 60.98$, $p < .01$)

[3] town vs squatter ($\chi^2(3) = 5.67$, ns)

B. $\chi^2(6) = 6.2$, ns

Female: [1] city vs town ($\chi^2(3) = 3.25$, ns)

[2] city vs squatter ($\chi^2(3) = 5.27$, ns)

[3] town vs squatter ($\chi^2(3) = 1.00$, ns)

Item 3: Willingness to help others in three helping situations

Item 3 in the questionnaire sought respondents' responses to whether they would help someone who needs assistance in the three helping situations utilized as behavioural measures of helpfulness in the field. Responses of the respondents were recorded in one of the three pre-arranged point response categories for each helping situation and they were: (1) Yes, I would help; (2) Probably, I would help but it depends on the situation and person; and (3) No, I would not help. As it was carried out in the analysis of previous items, first male and female responses were compared for each of three helping situations. In response rates to assisting for address and helping for change money, the male and the female respondents did not significantly differ from one another ($\chi^2(2) = 2.23$, ns) and ($\chi^2(2) = 2.23$, ns), respectively (see Table 14). In response to willingness to helping someone to carry a heavy parcel, the male respondents were more significantly willing to help than the female respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 31.5$, $p < .01$). A chi-square analysis was carried out on combined male and female scores of assisting for address and change money, while a separate analysis on willingness to help carrying a heavy parcel scores of each male and female. There was a significant difference in city, town and city squatter respondents' responses to willingness to help for address and change money ($\chi^2(4) = 73.17$, $p < .01$; $\chi^2(4) = 73.17$, $p < .01$) (see Table 15).

Comparison of the city respondents with the town respondents in both measures showed a significant difference in favour of town ($\chi^2(2) = 37.7$, $p < .01$; $\chi^2(2) = 37.7$, $p < .01$). The city squatter respondents also were significantly more willing to help as compared with the city respondents on these two measures ($\chi^2(2) = 34.85$, $p < .01$; $\chi^2(2) = 34.85$, $p < .01$, respectively), while the town and the city squatter respondents did not significantly differ from each other on the two measures ($\chi^2(2) = 0.21$, ns; $\chi^2(2) = 0.21$, ns).

Table 14

Comparison of Turkish male and female respondents on the response to their willingness to help in three helping situations

	Frequency of responses (in %)		
	Male	Female	Total
Assisting someone for address[a]			
1. Yes, I would help.	82.1	74.6	80.6
2. I would probably help but it depends on the situation or person.	13.3	17.4	14.0
3. No.	4.6	8.0	5.15
	(n=285)	(n=63)	(n=349)
Helping with change[b]			
1. Yes, I would help.	82.1	74.6	80.5
2. I would probably help but it depends on the situation or person.	13.3	17.4	14.0
3. No.	4.6	8.0	5.15
	(n=285)	(n=63)	(n=349)
Helping to carry a heavy load[c]			
1. Yes, I would help.	73.3	36.5	66.6
2. I would probably help but it depends on the situation or person.	18.5	38.1	22.12
3. No.	8.0	25.4	11.2
	(n=285)	(n=63)	(n=349)

[a] $\chi^2(2) = 2.23$, ns.

[b] $\chi^2(2) = 2.23$, ns.

[c] $\chi^2(2) = 31.5$, $p < .01$.

Table 15

Comparison of city, town and city squatter respondents on their willingness to help in three helping situations

	Frequency of responses (in %)			
	City	Town	City squatter	Total
Assisting someone for address[a] (male and female combined)				
1. Yes, I would help.	62.1	95.2	96.5	80.5
2. I would probably help but it depends on the situation or person.	26.2	4.7	3.4	14.2
3. No.	11.5	0	0	5.3
	(n=156)	(n=105)	(n=87)	(n=349)
Helping with change[b] (male and female combined)				
1. Yes, I would help.	62.1	95.2	96.5	80.5
2. I would probably help but it depends on the situation or person.	26.2	4.7	3.4	14.2
3. No.	11.5	0	0	5.3
	(n=156)	(n=105)	(n=87)	(n=349)
Helping to carry heavy load[c] (male sample only)				
1. Yes, I would help.	47.9	84.44	100.0	73.73
2. I would probably help but it depends on the situation or person.	34.45	13.35	0	18.5
3. No.	17.65	2.2	0	8.1
	(n=119)	(n=90)	(n=76)	(n=285)

Table 15 (continued)

Helping to carry heavy load[d] (female sample only)				
1. Yes, I would help.	24.3	40.0	72.7	36.5
2. I would probably help but it depends on the situation or person.	43.2	33.3	27.2	38.1
3. No.	32.4	26.6	0	25.3
	(n=37)	(n=15)	(n=11)	(n=63)

[a] $\chi^2(4) = 73.17$, $p < .01$.

1. city vs town ($\chi^2(2) = 37.7$, $p < .01$).
2. city vs squatter ($\chi^2(3) = 34.84$, $p < .01$).
3. town vs squatter ($\chi^2(2) = 0.21$, ns).

[b] $\chi^2(4) = 73.17$, $p < .01$.

1. city vs town ($\chi^2(3) = 37.7$, $p < .01$).
2. city vs squatter ($\chi^2(2) = 34.84$, $p < .01$).
3. town vs squatter ($\chi^2(2) = 0.21$, ns).

[c] $\chi^2(4) = 74.2$, $p < .01$.

1. city vs town ($\chi^2(2) = 28.9$, $p < .01$).
2. city vs squatter ($\chi^2(2) = 54.4$, $p < .01$).
3. town vs squatter ($\chi^2(2) = 12.89$, $p < .01$).

[d] $\chi^2(4) = 9.75$, $p < .05$.

1. city vs town ($\chi^2(2) = 1.1$, ns).
2. city vs squatter ($\chi^2(2) = 9.6$, $p < .01$).
3. town vs squatter ($\chi^2(2) = 4.3$, ns)

Comparison of scores of city, town and city squatters' responses to willingness to help with a heavy parcel within the male group showed a significant association between locale and willingness to help ($\chi^2(4) = 74.2$, $p < .01$). The city respondents were significantly less willing to help than both the town ($\chi^2(2) = 28.9$, $p < .01$) and the squatter respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 55.4$, $p < .01$), while the squatter respondents were significantly more willing to help than the town respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 12.89$, $p < .01$). Female group responses in comparison of various sub-groups also showed an association between locale and willingness to help ($\chi^2(4) = 9.75$, $p < .05$). The city respondents did not differ significantly from the town respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 1.1$, ns), but did differ from the squatters who were more willing to help ($\chi^2(2) = 9.6$, $p < .01$), while the town and the squatter respondents did not significantly differ from each other ($\chi^2(2) = 4.3$, ns). In sum, then, the city respondents in three different types of helping situation (in the third measure the female sample was too low, hence male data was more reliable for the results) were significantly less willing to assist a person in need than both town and squatter respondents.

Item 4: Perception of societal expectancy about one's giving assistance to others in need

Responses to the fourth item in the questionnaire involving societal expectancies about helping others in need fell into five categories, ranking from 'treating others like brothers' to 'not expected'. The five response categories were as follows:

(a) Yes, treat others like brothers do unto others, or treat others as you like to be treated;

(b) Yes, but some people, I expect, would help;

(c) Not any more, people are afraid to get involved and do not trust one another;

(d) Things are not what they used to be; now everyone looks out for himself;

(e) Not expected.

Examination of male and female distribution on responses to societal expectancies on giving help showed a significant difference ($\chi^2(4) = 20.77$, $p < .01$) (see Table 16).

Given this outcome, male and female respondents separately were examined. Comparison of city, town and city squatters' responses within the male group showed a significant association between locale and respondents' responses to perception of societal norm or expectancy of helping others ($\chi^2(8) = 51.36$, $p < .01$) (see Table 17).

The city respondents perceived a significantly lower societal expectancy about helping others than the town respondents ($\chi^2(4) = 35.92$, $p < .01$) and the city squatter respondents ($\chi^2(4) = 5.2$, ns).

A separate analysis using only the female sample was examined as a result of comparison of city, town and squatters within the female sample did not show any significant association between locale and respondents' response to societal expectancy about helping others ($\chi^2(8) = 8.95$, ns), nor did other comparison between sub-groups (see Table 17). Yet, again, a too small sample size of females' results seems to be misleading.

In sum, then, the outcome of the present item indicated that the city respondents showed considerably less societal expectancy about helping others (strangers) in need as compared with the town and the city squatter respondents who equally felt that there was a higher level of societal expectancy. Looking at Table 17, almost half of the city respondents (48%) stated that either 'people are afraid to get involved' or 'everyone looks out for himself these days' or 'not expected', while only 10% of the town respondents and 15.7% of the squatter respondents fell into these response categories. This response pattern was also very similar to what was observed in Item 2 (see Table 13).

Table 16

Comparison of Turkish male and female respondents on the response to their perception of societal expectancy about helping others[1]

	Frequency of category (in %)		
	Male	Female	Total
Response categories			
1. Yes, treat others like brothers.	68.7	41.2	63.8
2. Yes, but some people, I expect, would help.	4.2	7.9	4.9
3. Not any more; people are afraid to get involved and don't trust each other.	13.3	30.15	16.4
4. Things are not what they used to be; now everyone looks out for himself.	8.7	17.5	10.4
5. Not expected.	5.3	3.2	4.9
	(n=285)	(n=63)	(n=348)

[1] $\chi^2(4) = 20.77$, $p < .01$.

Table 17

Comparison of city, town and city squatter respondents on the response to their perception of societal expectancy about helping others

	Frequency of responses (in %)			
	City	Town	City squatter	Total
Male respondents[a]				
1. Yes, treat others like brothers or treat others as you like to be treated.	46.6	84.4	84.2	68.77
2. Yes, but some people, I expect, would help.	5.8	5.5	0	4.2
3. Not any more; people are afraid to get involved and do not trust each other.	23.3	3.3	9.2	13.3
4. Things are not as they used to be; now everyone looks out for himself.	11.66	6.6	6.5	8.7
5. Not expected.	12.5	0	0	5.2
	(n=120)	(n=90)	(n=76)	(n=285)

Table 17 (continued)

Female respondents[b]					
1.	Yes, treat others like brothers or treat others as you like to be treated.	29.7	66.6	45.4	41.2
2.	Yes, but some people, I expect, would help.	8.10	13.3	0	7.9
3.	Not any more; people are afraid to get involved and do not trust each other.	37.8	6.6	36.3	30.1
4.	Things are not as they used to be; now everyone looks out for himself.	18.9	13.3	18.1	17.4
5.	Not expected.	5.4	0	0	3.1
		(n=37)	(n=15)	(n=11)	(n=63)

[a] $\chi^2(8) = 51.35$, $p < .01$.

1. city vs town ($\chi^2(4) = 35.92$, $p < .01$).
2. city vs squatter ($\chi^2(4) = 34.37$, $p < .01$).
3. town vs squatter ($\chi^2(4) = 5.2$, ns).

[b] $\chi^2(8) = 8.95$, ns.

1. city vs town ($\chi^2(4) = 7.46$, ns).
2. city vs squatter ($\chi^2(4) = 2.17$, ns).
3. town vs squatter ($\chi^2(4) = 4.86$, ns).

Taken together, a consistent pattern of differences occurred between the city, town and city squatter respondents' responses to each of the four items in the questionnaire. Compared to the town and the squatter respondents, the city respondents on the whole scored a significantly lower response rate to each of the four items: defined a helpful person relatively more with generally cooperative characteristics, feeling of lesser degree of responsibility about giving assistance, less willingness to help others in various helping situations and lower perception of societal expectancy about helping others, with the exception of the female respondents who did not significantly differ on response scores to feeling of responsibility about helping, and perception of societal expectancies about helping others. It can be said that the city squatter respondents were equivalent in normative helpfulness to the town residents and that both scored significantly higher in normative helpfulness than the city respondents. Altogether, these subjective accounts of helpfulness of residents across various environments studied parallelled their behavioural responses of helpfulness. Hence, one may argue that the behavioural differences in helpfulness shown towards strangers across environments may be a function of the observed differences in attitudes of helpfulness.

4.4 Discussion

4.4.1 City-town difference in helpfulness

The major findings of this study clarify both the differences and similarities in the social behaviour of urbanites and non-urbanites in a developing nation. One type of social behaviour, the helpfulness shown towards a stranger, clearly differed between town residents and non-squatter city residents, with the urbanites showing significantly less helpfulness on three different naturalistic measures. This in

itself is a key finding, as it is the first confirmation of city/town differences in helpfulness in a developing nation. It supports the view that behavioural differences between urban and non-urban environments may indeed be a somewhat general phenomenon, extending to cultures such as those of the developing nations where some have argued (Hauser, 1965) that this is less likely to occur. Hauser (1965) suggested that behavioural characteristics presumed to apply to urbanites might not occur in the cities of developing nations and the present study offers the first empirical evaluation of this view, at least in regard to the helpfulness of urbanites.

4.4.2 'Urban villages'

Residents of Turkish cities appear to have different behavioural characteristics from the residents of Turkish towns, yet the results of this study also point to the existence of local environments within the city which differ considerably in their level of helpfulness. Indeed, some of the city environments studied showed that the level of helpfulness came quite close to town environments. Most interesting in this respect were the squatter settlements of Istanbul and Ankara, whose residents showed a level of helpfulness that was equal to that found in Turkish towns and significantly greater than that found in the rest of Istanbul and Ankara. This demonstrates the extent to which social behaviour can vary within an urban environment. It is worth noting that, in the present case, though the city-town differences in helpfulness were strong, the city-city squatter differences were even greater. Initially, we can say that whatever is responsible for a lower helpfulness rate in cities within Turkey has no affect upon the squatter areas. The behavioural equivalency between town and squatter residents disconfirming Wirth's hypothesis (1938) supports the analysis of Abu-Loughood (1961) and others who argue for the persistence of 'urban

villages' in large metropolitan areas and who maintain that the residents of these villages have not adopted the behaviour patterns which characterize the urban stereotype, eg distrust, impersonality, unhelpfulness.

Of most interest in the results obtained is the question of what factors might explain the high level of helpfulness which occurred in the squatter settlements. As noted earlier, the urban village thesis suggests that all types of helpfulness are enhanced within neighbourhoods where the occupants are long-time residents, are quite familiar with each other and share a common cultural background. The urban squatter settlements of Turkey do in these respects resemble urban villages, that is they are composed of migrants from rural villages who have established a way of life and social networks (ie extensive neighbour, friend and kin relationships) which derive from their original home rural village pattern. The high level of helpfulness observed in city squatter settlements is likely to be an outcome of or fostered by the social pattern of the settlement culture, traditional, Islamic and rural, which stresses the importance of generosity and responsibility towards other people (Erdentug, 1977; Kurtkan, 1977; Karpat, 1976). This formulation is also supported by the squatters' subjective self-report on helpfulness. The squatter respondents more frequently stated the norm of social responsibility, and to a greater extent perceived the social expectation that one should give help to another person who needs assistance, as compared with their non-squatter, city, counterparts. The results of this survey study will be discussed in more detail later.

Another argument for the squatters' greater degree of helpfulness could be made in terms of the strong identification with place associated with urban villagers (Gans, 1962). The squatters' greater identification and familiarity with place (Karpat, 1976) perhaps

produces a sense of responsibility for events happening in one's own territory. This line of reasoning is also consistent with Newman's (1973) concept of defensible space and overall suggests a greater likelihood of a positive response (from squatter residents) to strangers requiring help.

It is also possible to interpret the result in a somewhat simpler manner by reference to social class. It may be that helpfulness increases in a neighbourhood as a function of low economic status. When economic status is low, as is the case in the squatter settlements, it might be that the residents rely to a greater extent on each other for help. This explanation for the observed helpfulness in the squatter settlement was certainly borne out by the results from the non-squatter districts, where it was working-class neighbourhoods that showed the greatest helpfulness, as we shall see in the next section. Thus, we can speculate that the economic conditions within squatter settlements may lead to the establishment of a behaviour pattern involving a high level of giving and receiving help. This helping pattern might then extend to a stranger needing help. This line of argument may partly be supported by other findings from the helping research, for example, the presence of a helpful, generous and altruistic model in the environment may facilitate and enhance the future altruistic behaviour of observers (Rosehan and White, 1967; Bryan and Test, 1967; Wagner and Wheeler, 1969). On the other hand, however, the low income status may provide some explanation for the degree of helpfulness among settlement residents (see the next chapter) but it seems to be less applicable to strangers in face of the fact that strangers were clearly outsiders. Yet, admittedly, strangers received a greater level of helpfulness from squatters than in other more affluent areas of the city (ie suburban). What follows from this is that a social class explanation, although it goes some way towards explaining this result, still seems to have

difficulty explaining the squatters' helpfulness towards strangers.

Finally, as we have already seen, there are a number of possible explanations for the results obtained in this research, none of which can be directly evaluated within the context of the present study. Our experiment has, however, supported the urban village thesis by demonstrating that the social behaviour of the squatter residents does resemble that of their small town counterparts rather than the behaviour of their fellow urbanites. Second, contrary to urban theories, it has demonstrated that urban environments are not homogeneous in terms of social behaviour, since the squatters are non-urban in their social behaviour. This also points out the possibility of the mediating role played by culture in the link between helpfulness and urbanization.

4.4.3 Helpfulness in non-squatter city environments

The results discussed thus far might suggest a revision of the conceptualization of environments in terms of the urban/non-urban dichotomy into a new one, eg one which views the city squatter settlements as behaviourally non-urban. Yet, this solution is not consistent with the results pertaining to the variations in helpfulness that occurred between the different types of urban districts. Different types of city districts showed consistent differences in level of helpfulness with one exception - suburbs, where the lowest level of helpfulness was obtained. One of the districts, district 3, was clearly more helpful than the other districts, for the most part significantly so, on the change and dropped box measures. This supports the view that the urban environment contains a variety of local environments which when defined in terms of their behavioural characteristics forms a continuum. Equally important is the fact that in its most helpful area (the third district) the helpfulness of the city came close to matching the level of helpfulness found in the squatter settlements

and the towns. District 3 was an area with a mixed residential and commercial character, having a level of urbanization akin to a small city; it was typically a lower middle or working class district. It would seem to be different from other parts of the city in ways that are perhaps similar to those which distinguish the squatter settlements from the rest of the city, eg lower economic status of residents and a less intense commercial character. Any of these factors, and probably other ones as well, are possible explanations for why levels of helpfulness varied systematically across these different types of environment. What seems clear from the present results is that the best conception of urban and non-urban environments in terms of the characteristic social behaviour of their residents is that of continuum rather than a dichotomy, and that such a continuum is probably in part a reflection of the social characteristics of the environment. For example, it seems likely that the helpfulness of squatters is not predictable simply from knowing the characteristics of the physical environment they inhabit but that it also refelcts their attitudes, norms and social organization.

4.4.4 Input level effect

It has already been suggested that there are a number of explanations which could account for the variation in helpfulness between different sections of the urban environment and between Turkish cities and towns. This study was primarily concerned with clarifying the particular behavioural differences that could be identified across different environments. However, one explanation for differences in helpfulness was also examined - Milgram's (1970) input overload explanation.

According to this explanation, the level of helpfulness towards a stranger is partly influenced by the amount of environmental bombardment the potential helper is having to cope with; the greater the bombardment, the less the priority (or awareness) given to a stranger's need or request for assistance. In this study, although overall comparisons between the high and the low input locales uniformly indicated somewhat greater helpfulness in the low input settings, this effect was significant only for the female subjects and only for two out of three measures. This was an unexpected outcome and intriguing in light of other recent research suggesting sex differences in response to environmental conditions (Epstein and Karlin, 1975) and also in light of possible cultural interpretations of these differences. The finding of input level effects for females but not for males could be interpreted as indicating a greater responsiveness on the part of females to the level of environmental bombardment and a corresponding greater adjustment in their level of helpfulness. On the other hand, we need to recognise the Turkish and Islamic norm which stresses the importance of a woman's non-involvement with strangers in public settings. For example, values or norms of honour related to women ('Namus', as Turks call it) dictate the seclusion of women from public life. In this study, the high input locales may have been regarded as more public than the low input locales and hence in the former the norm was more salient and more adhered to, resulting in a reduced level of helpfulness among Turkish women. However, neither explanation in terms of culture or women's greater responsiveness to environmental input can be evaluated with the data from the present study and this unexpected sex difference in the effects of input level requires further empirical examination. In sum, then, it may be said that the present study provided general support for the Milgram hypothesis of input overload by finding an overall lower level of helpfulness in the high input level

environments, as compared to the lower input level environments. However, the present research asked the question, how much may the environmental input level account for the observed helpfulness across environments studied in Turkey? Overall differences between city and town environments parallels city/town differences in helpfulness. However, it was clear that the level of environmental input cannot be an explanation of helpfulness found in the city squatters, district 4 and that other influencial factors (such as, perhaps, socio-cultural factors) of these environments mediated this effect. This point will be dealt with fully in the General Discussion and Conclusion sections of this thesis.

4.4.5 Sex differences in helpfulness

The present study found clear sex differences between the Turkish male and female populations in helping behaviour, yet no weakening of this difference in the city versus town or squatter settlement. The direction of the overall sex difference was that men were more helpful than women.

These Turkish findings stand in opposition to the results of previous studies in the Western hemisphere which found equal levels of helping for both men and women if the behaviours required were free from high cost, threat and no masculine orientation was involved (Latane and Darley, 1970; Gergen, Gergen and Meter, 1972, 1977).

The present result seems partly attributable to the Moslem norms mentioned earlier which could have deterred Turkish women from involvement with strangers in public. However, it is not altogether clear why these norms did not affect the change money measure. It may be that this measure did not require the same degree of involvement as the interview measure, nor the initiation of contact as did the dropped box measure. Yet, whatever factors were responsible for the sex differences, they were as strong in the urban environments as in the town and squatter environments, thus disconfirming the expectation that these factors would lessen in the city. It may be that Islamic based social norms are equally strong throughout different environments in Turkey.

4.4.6 Differences in dispositions and attitudes of helpfulness between urban and non-urban environments in Turkey

The survey study tested the hypothesis that there would be differences in urban and non-urban attitudes and dispositions for

helpfulness by examining the views concerning helpfulness of the city, town and squatter residents, and indeed found consistent differences between the residents in their perspective on helping which parallel the behavioural data. Compared with the town and squatter respondents, the city respondents' scores on each of the four aspects of views on helping and helpfulness were significantly lower. The city respondents viewed a helpful person as having more 'generally cooperative characteristics' as opposed to a 'person who puts someone else's needs before his own in any situation', they felt a 'lesser degree of personal responsibility about giving assistance to others' as well as showing less willingness to help others in various situations, and finally they felt a lower level of societal expectancy about giving help, while the town and the squatter respondents were equivalent in their judgements of these four aspects of helpfulness. These results support the urban impact theory (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1950; Milgram, 1970) and suggest that there are differences in the general attitudes and dispositions of helpfulness involving strangers between urban and non-urban residents. According to these social psychological analyses of urban life, the size, density and heterogeneity of cities produce levels of stimulus input which are stressful and overloading. Urbanites adapt to this overload by sharply limiting the number of people with whom they interact and their degree of commitment towards most of these people. Thus the theory suggests that urbanites become brusque, aloof, unfriendly, non-trusting and unhelpful both in their behaviour and attitudes towards strangers.

Our results contradict earlier evidence gathered by Holahan (1978) and Hause and Wolf (1978) which suggests that there is virtually no difference between urban and non-urban residents in attitudes and dispositions of helpfulness. The Turkish urban residents are clearly different in views of helpfulness from the town residents. In line with the urban

hypothesis, an explanation for the differences between the urban and non-urban respondents' attitudes can be found in the present data. These data suggest that the environmental characteristics of the city had some effect upon the attitudes of the urban respondents. Half of the city respondents (49% male and 43% female) in response to the question about whether they would feel personal responsibility for giving assistance to others needing help replied either 'it depends on the situation and person who seeks help' or 'I feel no responsibility'. Their response to the question about whether they feel social pressure to give help to others is also consistent with responses to the previous questions; a high percentage of the city respondents (48% male and 62% female) replied either that 'people are afraid to get involved' or 'everyone looks out for himself these days'. As Tables 13 and 17 indicate, the percentage of town and squatter respondents who fell into these response categories was considerably lower or there were none at all. These responses described above reveal that the city respondents have specific attitudes of withdrawal and non-involvement with strangers which Milgram suggested (1970) would develop as a result of their experiences of stressful and overloading urban environments. The suspiciousness and lack of trust towards other persons can also be discerned in these responses. These attitudes can possibly be attributed to urban respondents' fear for their personal safety and feelings of vulnerability which might be due to the apparent rise of urban violence and crime throughout the world (Fisher, 1976). As one would expect, the female city respondents, as compared with the male, seemed to be more influenced by this situation in the city, probably as a result of feeling more vulnerable as a sex.

An alternative explanation might be that the socio-economic status of respondents accounts for these differences in city/town attitudes towards helpfulness. The one limitation of the present study is that

it did not examine the influence of this factor. Nevertheless, this study did draw upon a large sample of randomly chosen respondents from each of the environments studied, and furthermore it seems that the explanatory power of SES is conceptually and empirically rather limited as compared with the urban/non-urban dimension. Future studies should collect data relating to this point.

The city squatter respondents were quite distinct in their attitudes and dispositions concerning helpfulness towards other people as compared with their non-squatter city counterparts; indeed, their attitudes were similar to those of the town respondents. The factors responsible for the city respondents diminished attitudes of helpfulness towards others did not seem to influence the city squatter respondents. This is most likely due to the social characteristics of the squatter environments described earlier - rural and Muslim cultural background. Examining their responses, it is possible to discern attitudes and values of helpfulness which derive from the traditional Islamic rural norms that emphasize the importance of generosity and responsibility towards other people (Erdentug, 1977; Eroz, 1977; Karpat, 1976). For example, more than three quarters of the squatter respondents (90.7% male and 72.7% female) replied that 'to help others is one's duty to ease one's brother/sister fellow's distress, and this is a commandment of God'; their response (84.2%) to another item was 'treat others like your own brothers/sisters or do unto others : that is what Islam and God say'. It may be that this adherence to traditional Islamic norms explains why the level of helpfulness shown towards a stranger was found to be higher there.

In sum, then, the Turkish urban and non-urban residents as well as the city squatters differed in views of helpfulness parallelling the observed differences in helping behaviour between the environments reported earlier. In the light of the present data from Turkey, a

speculative argument on the observed helpfulness differences between urban and non-urban environments can be made, especially with regard to the conclusion of Holahan (1978) and House and Wolf (1978). These authors, on the basis of finding a limited difference in attitudes of helpfulness and trust between urban and non-urban, concluded that the differences in helpfulness and trust between city and town are more a function of adaptations to temporary situational pressures in different environments, rather than attitudes and values. By looking at the findings in Turkey - both helpfulness and normative helpfulness - one might argue that the observed differences within the context of stranger in helpfulness between a Turkish urban/non-urban environment may have been a function of differences in attitudes and dispositions of helpfulness. However, again this argument should be considered speculative because such a claim could hardly be tested with the design of the present study. It should be the task of a future study to test the hypothesis with an appropriate research design for this conclusion, ie taking hypothesis-related behavioural and attitudinal measures from the same subjects in the naturalistic field, city vs town). Yet, the present study only evaluated the hypothesis of urban/non-urban differences in views of helpfulness concerning strangers and demonstrated that these differences between the two Turkish environments exist which supported the urban hypothesis.

In conclusion, the major finding of the present study is that it has demonstrated the reality of overall difference in level of helpfulness towards a stranger between city and town residents in Turkey, a culture quite dissimilar in many ways from those cultures previously used in this line of research and where differences were found. Yet, the size of city-town differences were matched by the differences occurring between different sections of Turkish cities, particularly when one includes the squatter settlements. The distinctiveness of the

squatter residents, indicated by patterns of social behaviour, resembled those found in Turkish towns, rather than those of the non-squatter urban environments within the city. This supports the view that squatters may in a psychological and social sense be 'urban villagers'. Consistent differences in helpfulness were also found between other types of city districts. Taken together, these findings were confirmed and support a view that stresses the heterogeneity rather than the homogeneity of the behavioural phenomena which occur in an urban environment. Environmental input level was found to influence the level of helpfulness, yet only significantly for female subjects. Also, males were significantly more helpful than females and this difference showed a consistent pattern across environments. Finally, the survey study found differences in views of helpfulness between environments in Turkey which parallelled helpfulness data. This supports the hypothesis that the urban environment has an impact on individuals' attitudes and dispositions of helpfulness; it may be that the observed level of helpfulness was a function of this underlying difference between urban/non-urban environments.

The study reported so far examined urban/non-urban differences in helpfulness occurring between strangers to test the urban social behaviour hypothesis in Turkey. The urban theories also hypothesize that the urban environment has an impact on social behaviour occurring between neighbours, friends and kin. An empirical study was carried out on social behaviour (social contact and helpfulness) between neighbours, friends and kin to test this urban social behaviour hypothesis in Turkish environments, ie cities, towns and squatter areas. This empirical study will be reported in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL CONTACTS AND HELPFULNESS BETWEEN KIN, FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS IN CITY, TOWN AND SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS IN TURKEY

CHAPTER 5

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5.1 Introduction

5.1.1 Kin, friends' and neighbours' social behaviour in city and town in Turkey

The popular view and the social psychological analysis of urban life and urban environment (Tonnies, 1964; Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1950; Alexander, 1968) suggest that not only is social behaviour such as helpfulness between strangers declining in the city but that other more essential types of social relationships existing within the primary groups (eg among neighbours, friends and kin) are affected by city living. Community spirit, mutual aid between neighbours (eg baby-sitting, cooking for a sick neighbour), which is characteristic of country or town, is lacking in the city where even neighbours do not know each other. Social ties and helpfulness between friends and relatives are also weaker in the city.

In the previous chapter, a single aspect of urban social behaviour (helpfulness occurring between strangers) was examined. The results revealed greater helpfulness in towns than in cities and no difference between towns and squatter settlements. The empirical study to be described in this chapter went beyond this one aspect of social behaviour by asking in what ways different types of inter-personal relationships in cities differ from those in towns and squatter settlements within the city in Turkey.

The second purpose of this study was the evaluation of the relationship between a particular helping act and the source of help. Helpfulness has attracted a great deal of interest in the field of social psychology in recent years, yet the concern has been mainly with the factors which influence an individual to offer help when another individual (help-seeker) quite clearly wishes or needs to be helped. It seems equally important for the occurrence of helpfulness that a

person will or will not express a need to be helped. It may be that a need for help is expressed only when the person (help-seeker) is satisfied as to the appropriateness or approachability of a potential helper. One factor that seems to play an important role in an individual's decision to turn to a particular helper may depend on the nature of the task involved in a helping act. So this appears to suggest that the occurrence of helpfulness with a particular helper may have as much to do with the nature of the task involving the helping act. The present study, besides examining urban/non-urban differences in kin, friends' and neighbours' social behaviour is concerned also with the evaluation of a particular helping task and the sources of helper relationships.

We shall now turn to the analysis of urban social behaviour to account for the fact that the social behaviour occurring between kin, friends and neighbours is influenced by the city environments.

The major analysis of urban life hypothesized a decline within the primary group relationship (friends, kin and neighbours) in the city environment, due to structural changes in urban society (Wirth, 1938; Tonnies, 1964; Simmel, 1950). As already reviewed in Chapter 1, Wirth (1938) has depicted urban social relationship within the primary group in his classic article entitled 'Urbanism as a way of life' in the following manner:

> "Families in the city are smaller, are isolated from the larger kinship group, and do not fulfil the same functions as those in non-urban environments. Individual family members pursued their own diverging interests and the remaining family ties become narrower and unfulfilling." (p 52)

> "'Friendship': although an urbanite is surrounded by people and is ceaselessly in contact with them, he interacts rarely

at personal level, casual and intimate friendship ties are eclipsed by the superficial impersonal and transitory character of urban social relationship." (p 53)

"'Neighbouring and the quality of neighbourhood life, community cohesion are weakened by anomie and transitory character of urban living." (p 52)

Wirth (1938) argued that the primary group relationship in the city would be different as a consequence of the size, density and heterogeneity of the urban population. These demographic factors lead to social conditions, such as social differentiation, the increased importance of secondary groups, and the multiplication of an individual's different roles, with the result that the individual's contacts become impersonal, superficial and utilitarian; in turn, the individual's primary relationships (kin, friends and neighbours), as he points out in the above quotation, become weakened, while he claimed community size and structural differentiation in the city provide alternatives to the primary groups for individuals in numerous areas, eg economic support, emergency help, leisure activities and other services.

In contrast to this is the analysis offered by Gans (1962), Lewis (1965) and also by Fisher (1976) (see Chapter 1 for these analyses) which posit that the social behaviour occurring within the primary group and the extent of help and assistance that comes from friends, neighbours and kin in the contemporary urban society must have been underestimated and that the primary group remains a strong force. They describe the city as a 'mosaic of social worlds'. These 'worlds' are intimate social circles based on kinship, ethnicity, neighbourhood, occupation, life-style or similar personal attributes, where support and help between individuals flourish.

Meanwhile, empirical evidence[1] reviewed in Chapter 2 concerning urban/non-urban differences in these social behaviours, although limited in number, suggest a different conclusion with regard to these analyses. The social behaviours in question show differences between two environments depending on their contexts.

The evidence concerning the kin relationship indicates no urban/non-urban differences. Individuals in the urban environments have social contact and helpfulness as frequent as their counterparts in the non-urban environments (in the United States: Reiss, 1959; Key, 1968; Bultena, 1969; Glenn and Hill, 1977; in Britain: Kasadra and Janowitz, 1974; Irwin, 1975; in Japan: Koyama, 1970). Similarly, the empirical evidence concerning friend social relationship also does not indicate any difference between urban and non-urban environments. The urban respondents have as many close friends as the non-urban respondents, and socialized with their friends to an equal degree as did their non-urban counterparts (in the United States: Reiss, 1959; Key, 1968; Empey and Lubeck, 1968; Glenn and Hill, 1977; in Britain: Kasadra and Janowitz, 1974; in Australia: Sutcliffe and Crabbe, 1963; for exception, see Gutterman (1969) in the United States). However, when we turn to the evidence concerning urban/non-urban neighbourly relationship, the empirical findings suggest a conclusion different from what has been observed with that of kin and friends. Urban residents know a significantly smaller number of neighbours and the frequency of social contacts and socializing among urban neighbours is significantly less than that found among non-urban residents (Key, 1968; Fava, 1958;

[1] There are, however, non-comparative data, ie studies of individual communities on the social behaviours in question which do not directly relate for the hypothesized effect of urbanism, since they are not comparative (Gutterman, 1969; Fisher, 1976). Thus these studies have not been reviewed; however, readers who are interested in these urban kin, friend and neighbour relationships should see, for example, Susman and Burchinal (1962), Matthews (1965) and Adams (1966).

Fisher, 1973; for exception, see Glenn and Hill, 1977, who find no association between urbanization and neighbourly contacts).

Taken together, the available studies confirm those aspects of the urban social behaviour hypothesis which is concerned only with relationships between neighbours; the number of neighbours known by city residents is small, and the frequency of socializing with neighbours is significantly lower. However, by contrast, there is no clear evidence concerning hypothesized weakening social behaviour (the frequency of contact and socializing) occurring between kin and friends in the urban environments versus the non-urban environments.

However, in line with the hypothesis, there is found to be some influence of urban living on the social pattern of friends and kin: all of these studies pointed to the fact that urban families are relatively smaller (Key, 1968; Bultena, 1969; Koyama, 1970), and urban kin members are geographically dispersed (Bultena, 1969; Koyama, 1970; Key, 1968; Kasadra and Janowitz, 1974), yet, as indicated, once this spatial distance was controlled, there were no urban/non-urban differences in the kin social contacts. Friendship's pattern also was found somewhat different in the city: the urban residents drew their friends from a wider variety of social pools than the non-urban residents do (eg the work place, club versus local neighbourhood), and urban friends were more geographically dispersed (eg non-localized: Sutcliffe and Crabbe, 1963; Key, 1968; Kasadra and Janowitz, 1974). However, again as in the case of kin, once the distance was controlled, the urban/non-urban dimension showed no influence on friends' social behaviour. There was an additional finding; one segment of urban population - the working class residents - showed a somewhat different pattern; they tended to have a localized friendship and kinship network (Kasadra and Janowitz, 1974).

However, this conclusion, as already discussed, is based on a very

limited number of studies and, furthermore, the majority of the reviewed studies utilized data derived from secondary sources (eg aggregate census and historical works) which did not allow the control of the influence of several potential important variables (Fisher, 1976). Moreover, most of this data was not concerned with the quality, but rather with the quantity, of urban social contacts (Guterman, 1969).

Finally, these points of evidence are culturally limited as they have been collected in one type of culture: Western and developed countries. Especially the generality of these data can be seen to be open to question given the claim that the Western model of urbanization and the character of social behaviour do not apply to cities in the developing world (Hauser, 1965). Thus, what is needed is more evidence concerning whether kin, friends and neighbours in urban environments differ in various types of social relationships, and what aspects of the urban environments and individuals' characteristics affect the occurrence of these social relationships and especially from these developing countries' cities. Hence the central concern of the present study was to evaluate the urban social behaviour hypothesis by examining various aspects of social behaviour occurring between kin, friends and neighbours in Turkish environments (cities and towns).

5.1.2 The Turkish setting

The selection of Turkey for the present study was considered to be appropriate on a number of grounds. First of all, Turkey is a developing country containing rapid, newly developing urban centres (eg Ankara and Istanbul). Second, quite different from the cultures previously studied, Turkey is culturally a Middle-Eastern, Islamic society. Thus, it presented a cultural setting suitable for examining the urbanization and social behaviour relationship in evaluating the findings from Western and developed cultures.

Now let us consider the following brief background to the characteristics of kin, friends and neighbour relationships in Turkish society as a way to illustrate the importance of Turkey as a testing ground for the urban social behaviour hypothesis.

In Turkish society, kin, friend and neighbour relationships are greatly valued and derive their importance from both Turkish and Islam culture (Eroz, 1977; Erdentug, 1977). The Turkish family has traditionally been 'extended', comprising several generations (eg husband, wife, his unmarried children, and often his married sons with their wives and children, and unmarried sisters, usually living under the same roof, or living nearby) (Turkdogan, 1970; Tezcan, 1974; Timur, 1972; Stirling, 1965; Erdentug, 1977). The husband is the head of the family or, in his absence, an older male in the family (eg the oldest son) undertakes the role, and, as this account suggests, kin lineage usually follows the male line. Relationships between kin are quite intense, solidarity very concentrated among kin, mutual aid and assistance among kin and family members are based on normative expectations, include economic, legal, welfare and leisure activities (Eroz, 1977; Erdentug, 1977; Timur, 1972; Tezcan, 1974).

Friendship and neighbours' relationships in Turkish society are greatly valued. There are a number of Turkish proverbs and folk sayings on the subject of friends and neighbours relationships. Perhaps the following two sayings may exemplify best the value of these relationships in Turkish culture. The saying 'Ev alma komusu al'[1] expresses the importance of community and neighbourly relationships. With regard to assistance and support between neighbours, the concept of

[1] Approximate translation of the Turkish proverb of 'Ev alma komusu al' into English: 'Do not possess a house in an environment where you cannot have good neighbours'.

'Komsu Hakkı'[1] indicates the great emphasis on caring and sharing between neighbours in Turkish culture. Helping and caring between neighbours may not only mean help of a casual nature but would include help in emergency and even long-term care (Erdentug, 1977; Tezcan, 1974). It is also interesting to note that neighbourly relationships are not only confined to those neighbours in close proximity, but extend to a wider neighbourhood or village. There are occasions, especially Islamic feasts, when needy neighbours are helped by donating money (eg 'Zekat' amounting to 1/40 of one's income), or others, food on the day of sacrificial feasts (Kurban Bayramı) (Tezcan, 1974; Erdentug, 1977).

As several analyses suggest, this traditional primary group solidarity has declined in Turkish cities (Eroz, 1977; Erdentug, 1977). However, to date there is no empirical evidence for this view on Turkey (Turkdogan, 1970; Eroz, 1977). Hence, carrying out this study in Turkey to examine the generality of the earlier findings of urban social behaviour from Western cultures as the main concern also provided an opportunity to evaluate the above claim empirically by examining the social behaviour of kin, friends and neighbours in Turkish cities and towns. With this end in view, the present study examined the two main aspects of the hypothesis related to social behaviours in Turkish city and town environments: these were the frequency of social contacts and various types of helpfulness occurring between each of the three relations in question.

Apart from the urban/non-urban dimension, influences of several potential variables on the occurrence of these behaviours were found to exert an influence and these were examined. These variables were as

[1] Approximate translation of the Turkish folk saying of 'Komsu Hakkı' into English: 'One ought to share those things with his/her neighbours who are lacking them'.

follows: the length of residency, sex, age, origin (eg having a different origin of place of residence versus origin of present place of residence) and socio-economic status.

The length of residency has been argued (Wirth, 1938; Fisher, 1976) as an important element for the development of various types of social ties within a local community. The local community is viewed as a system of social networks into which new residents are assimilated, while the community itself passes through its own life-cycle. Since assimilation of newcomers into the social fabric of the local community is necessarily a temporary process, residential mobility is considered to operate as a barrier to the development of extensive neighbourly relationships, friendship and kinship bonds and local associational ties. Hence, once established, the length of residency will affect the development of these ties: Kasadra and Janowitz (1974) have evidence for these effects of the length of residency. For example, as a result of residential mobility, kin were found to be spatially dispersed and in turn this affected the pattern of social contact between kin. Moreover, the length of residency has been found to exert greater influence on friendship formation and neighbourly relationships: those residents who were long-time residents developed an extensive network of friends and neighbours, and had widespread participation in various local organizations.

A person's stage of life (eg married versus single) and age may influence social behaviour, especially those occurring between neighbours and friends. It is a common observation (see Michelson, 1976) that children often play an important role in establishing neighbour contacts, and the problems of caring for children bring neighbours together. Thus, residents with children in an environment containing many children can be expected to have fewer barriers to social contacts and exchanging helpfulness. For these same reasons, residents who are

unmarried, or aged, may have less in common with their neighbours and, hence, may have fewer social contacts and less helpfulness with neighbours.

The pattern of kin, friend and neighbour relationships may show a variation in socio-economic status. As indicated earlier, individuals with lower status (eg the working class individuals), tending to have more relatives living nearby, have a local-based friendship network and a higher level of neighbourhood social relationships than individuals with a higher social economic status (Kasadra and Janowitz, 1974; Irwing, 1975; Gans, 1962; Young and Willmott, 1962). However, contrary to these results, Smith, Form and Stone (1954) found a higher level of local-based neighbour and friendly relationships amongst the higher SES groups. The present study examined the effect of an individual's socio-economic status on the kin, friend and neighbour relationships.

In addition, a person's having been raised in a different place from the present community of residence versus having been raised in the present place of residence may influence the relationships in question. It is often hypothesized (eg Zimmer, 1955; Jitodai, 1965) that non-urban reared migrants are more likely to be away from their kin and friends and as well as having acquired few experiences relevant to urban life would have difficulty adjusting to urban environments. With regard to social participation, these migrants have been predicted to be more socially isolated in the present place of residence. Thus, lower rates of social interaction have been expected among migrants. However, contrary to the hypothesis, it has been found that rural migrants to the city visited their friends and relatives more frequently and engaged more often in neighbouring activities than did their non-counterparts (Usui, Lei and Butler, 1977). In the present study the effect of an individual's birth place background on these primary group social relationships was also examined.

5.1.3 The social behaviour of kin, friends and neighbours in the city-squatter settlements - urban village

The present study was concerned with explaining the nature of these three types of social relationships in the city-squatter environments in order to test further the urban village thesis, as well as the validity of the urban social impact hypothesis (Wirth, 1938) in this environment within the city.

As we have already seen, the urban village thesis argues (Gans, 1962; Jacobs, 1961) that there are neighbourhoods within the city with a village-like social life quality. These city neighbourhoods offer a variety of different types of helpfulness which are enhanced by the quality of life there: residents know each other well, are long-term residents, and share common rural and ethnic traditions. Several reports suggest that the way of life and social organization in the city squatter settlements are similar to that in rural villages in Turkey: intense social contacts and high level of helpfulness between kin, friends and neighbours (Suzuki, 1964; Karpat, 1976) (for more detailed discussion, see the previous chapters). However, the presence of such city communities runs counter to the urban social behaviour hypothesis which claims a decline in kin, friends and neighbour relationships.

In the previous chapter, the urban village thesis was challenged by investigating helpfulness shown towards strangers in the squatter environments. It has been found that the urban squatter residents showed a greater level of helpfulness towards strangers than the regular urban residents (non-squatter) and the city squatters in their level of helpfulness equalled that observed in the towns. The present study further evaluated the urban village thesis and the urban impact hypothesis by investigating a broader range of types of helpfulness (eg helpfulness between kin, friends and neighbours). The basic design

of the present study consisted of a comparison of the social contacts and helpfulness occurring between kin, friends and neighbours across the squatter settlements, the non-squatter city environments and the town environments, to see whether the behavioural pattern of squatters with their kin, friends and neighbours would be more similar to that of their town counterparts than to that of non-squatter dwellers.

5.1.4 Relationship between a particular type of helpfulness and a source of help

The second aim of the present study was to evaluate the relationship between a particular type of help and a source of help. It appears that the particular source or person chosen when help is required may depend on the type of help that is needed. For example, seeking help from a neighbour may be constrained by the conception of the nature of the neighbour relationship. Since this relationship by definition is based solely on proximity, it may be considered as a limited one, so that the type of assistance requested from neighbours may be confined to areas that do not place much effort and time, as well as not requiring the presence of intimacy or a shared perspective between two parties. Thus, types of helpfulness an individual may be expected to exchange with his neighbour may then be low on cost and intimacy (eg borrowing a household item) and neither of the other types such as requesting care during the period of an illness of long duration or discussing a personal problem.

A friendship relationship, on the other hand, involves feelings of mutual responsibility and some shared perspectives between individuals (Newcombe, 1961). thus, this relationship may allow for an exchange of helpfulness of a more intimate nature than that expected from a neighbour. As intimacy in helpfulness increases, then the increased tendency by an individual to turn to friends for help may be

expected. However, as the cost involving help increases (eg support in the time of a real problem or a long-period of illness), it can be expected that kin or family are more likely to be a source of help for the individual.

In summary, the present study was designed to examine the urbanization-social behaviour relationship for kin, friends and neighbour social relationships in a culture different from those previously used in the research. This involves, first of all, a comparison of the degree of kin's, friends' and neighbours' social contacts and helpfulness between urban and non-urban environments in Turkey. In addition, there were different urban environments within the city: the city squatter settlements which were ideally suited to clarify the exact nature of a city's impact on social behaviour in a developing nation. Also, influences of several personal characteristics of an individual such as sex, age, stage of life, origin, socio-economic status and length of residency on the occurrence of kin, friend and neighbour social contacts and helpfulness were examined. Finally, the relationship between the type of helpfulness and its compatibility with particular types of relationships (ie neighbours, friends and kin) was examined.

5.2 Method

5.2.1 Overview

A survey study examining the nature of various aspects of kin, friends and neighbour social contacts and helpfulness was carried out with a total of 256 male and female respondents in four towns and two cities in Turkey. The survey study was carried out by ten Turkish survey workers who were male and female, high school teachers and university students. The collection of the data was completed between

the summer of 1978 and the spring of 1979 in Turkey.

5.2.2 Selection of city, town and city squatter locations

Istanbul and Ankara, with populations of 3,004,588 and 2,585,293, respectively (Turkish census of population 1975), the two largest principal cities of Turkey, were chosen as urban settings for the present study. The urban samples were drawn from four types of city districts which had already been used for the study of helpfulness shown towards strangers (see Chapter 4 for more detailed information about the selection of city districts). Drawing a sample from a variety of city environments enabled the present study to have respondents representing the city population as a whole (eg in terms of personal characteristics, SES and various characteristics of the city environments that respondents resided in). The city districts were as follows: Beyazit (Istanbul), Kizilay (Ankara) were the inner city districts occupied by mixed SES groups (eg the middle class and the working class); Kadikoy (Istanbul) and Maltepe (Ankara) were the second degree of urbanized districts resided in by the middle class and the lower middle class; Eyup (Istanbul) and Yenimahalle (Ankara) were residential neighbourhoods occupied by the working class and lower middle class residents; Yesilkoy (Istanbul) and Gaziosmanpasa (Ankara) were suburban districts occupied by the upper middle class and the middle class residents. In addition, within each city, two squatter settlements were selected for the questionnaire survey. Both Istanbul and Ankara have a number of squatter settlements located in various parts of the city which differ from one another in size, age and other characteristics. By using earlier described criteria, four city squatter settlements were selected from two cities for the questionnaire survey; Zeytinburnu and Gaziosmanpasa (Istanbul) and Kale Ici-Yenidogan and Sentepe (Ankara) (see Chapter 4 for the selection of city squatter settlements).

The samples of towns were drawn from different regions: northern, central and western parts of Turkey. The criteria used in the selection of these four towns were: (a) their being representative of Turkish towns in terms of regional cultures, (b) their being neither appendages of large urban centres nor of commuter towns. The towns chosen were (their 1975 populations given in brackets): Bartin (18,409), Yerkoy (19,927), Karacabey (21,648) and Mustafa Kemal Pasa (28,000).

5.2.3 Selection of respondents

The questionnaire was administered to a total of 256 male and female Turkish respondents, who were residents of either a city (n = 89), a town (n = 66) or a squatter settlement (n = 101). The administration of the questionnaire was carried out by the earlier mentioned ten survey workers, under the supervision of the researcher. Before proceeding to the survey study, a short training session was held, which informed the survey workers of the nature of the study and about the questionnaire administration procedure. Systematic sampling was impractical in the particular environments where this study was carried out, due to such factors as the absence of residential listing, and also the general unfamiliarity of the population with survey procedure. Under such circumstances a sample was obtained partly through an informal sampling of households in different locales in the cities, towns and squatter settlements within the cities. Also, in order to ensure an approximately equal number of female and male respondents from a given locality, the sex content of the household to be contacted for the survey study was predetermined, then in turn either a female or male respondent[1] was

[1] The questionnaire was given a respondent on the basis of his/her verbal statement that he/she was able to read and write, and thus complete the questionnaire; otherwise the next respondent was contacted.

contacted. In addition to the enclosed instruction, the questionnaire was explained to the respondents, then left with them to be completed, and then retrieved by the survey workers two or three days later.

A total of 256 out of 325 questionnaires were administered in this way with a rate of return of 89.6% (293). Subsequently 37 questionnaires were discarded due to an excessive number of unanswered items, leaving a final sample of 256 respondents. However, in addition to the 37 discarded questionnaires, a number of questionnaires unreturned prevented the present study from reaching the objective of having samples equal in sex in a given locale, yet overall proportions of sex respondents (total of cities, towns and squatter areas) were equal (50.4% female, 49.6% male).

5.2.4 Questionnaire

The questionnaire items were designed to measure the frequency of social contacts and the degree of various types of helpfulness between kin, friends and neighbours. In addition, respondents' background factors were under investigation in this study (see Appendix A for the questionnaire itself).

Some of the questions concerning kin, friends and neighbours social contacts and helpfulness were chosen initially from the studies of Key (1968), Smith, Form and Stone (1954), Litwak and Szelenyi (1969), Irwing, Davidson and Weir (1971) and Huismans and Korte (1976). After initial interviews with several groups of native Istanbul residents on their relationships with kin, friends and neighbours, the survey questions were revised and developed. Then the survey questionnaire was pretested in interview form by visits to local households in various parts of Istanbul, including squatter settlements. Pretesting resulted in a clarification of some items. The final form consisted of the items covering:

(a) background data of respondents: sex, age, SES, birth place, stage of life (marital status), family household, present locale of residence and the length of residency in the present place;

(b) the geographical distance between kin[1];

(c) the frequency of contacts between kin (eg how often and where kin members meet each other);

(d) the area of actual occurrence of helpfulness between kin, friends and neighbours in the last six months (eg discussing personal problems, borrowing some items, etc);

(e) the areas of help in which respondents feel at ease to ask for help from their friends, kin and neighbours (there were 16 types of helpfulness which differed in terms of their cost and intimacy[2];

(f) a number of 'close friends'[3] and the origin of friendship;

(g) the geographical distance between friends and the residents;

(h) the frequency and intimacy of social contacts between friends;

[1] During the interview (pretest) respondents defined a kin member as any individual with whom a 'blood' relationship is recognized or an individual who bore a recognized 'blood' relationship to one's spouse if he/she was married. Accordingly, in the items concerning kin relationship, these categories of people were used; father, mother, brothers, sisters, aunt and uncle including father- and mother-in-law.

[2] 'Costly' help assumed a kind of help which placed constraints in terms of time and effort, for example taking care of one in a period of illness, or assisting one getting a job versus borrowing a small household item. An 'intimate' type of help assumed a type of assistance such as discussing a personal problem or borrowing a personal belonging. For the occurrence of this type of helpfulness the presence of a shared perspective between a helper and recipient would be expected.

[3] As was often the case, during the development of the interview, respondents tended to confuse 'close friends' and 'just a friend' and this resulted in low measures of help exchange between them. Since the present study was concerned with the evaluation of the quality of friendship, then, in accordance with Irwing's (1975) recommendation, it was decided to ask the respondents to state the names as well as the addresses of their mentioned friends (or their approximate address). Thus in this way it was believed that respondents were channelled into a particular group of relationships: 'close friends', for the purposes of the investigation.

(i) familiarity with local neighbourhood residents[1];

(j) number of neighbours known.

Before proceeding to report results, it should be pointed out that the present study makes allowances for limitations inherent in survey research techniques. There is obviously an element of arbitrary delimitation in the questions asked, yet, unlike the previous investigations, the present study examined as wide dimensions as possible in social behaviour, and delimitation in the questions was improved as a result of several pretest interviews. Instead of the survey techniques, 'network analysis' could have been employed, which requires investigation by careful and detailed participant observations. However, this technique was seen as a rather impractical one, considering the general research problem for which the present study was undertaken.

Secondly, there may seem to be a question of sampling bias in the present study as a result of using informal sampling techniques. However, the samples for this study were drawn from environments as different as possible, and the selection within areas was made on a random basis described earlier.

5.3 Results

5.3.1 Characteristics of the sample population

The questionnaires were completed by 256 cities', towns' and squatters' respondents: 49% of the respondents were males and 50% were

[1] There is a considerable controversy over the concept of neighbourhood (see Sommer, 1969; Lee, 1968; Mercer, 1975). However, in the present study the neighbourhood was defined, in general, as a spatial entity within a larger unit of habitat (eg city or town) which possesses distinguishing features in terms of both physical and social characteristics, also designated officially. In fact, respondents during the pretest interview often pointed this out.

females. The composition of respondents' sex across locales (cities, towns and squatter settlements) showed a significant difference (see Table 1(a)). Respondents, in terms of age, showed variation; more than a half of the total respondents (55.2%) fell into the age group of 26-44, while 15.2% and 27.7% of respondents were in the age group of 25 and below and 45-65, respectively. The age group of respondents across locales did not differ significantly (see Table 1(c)). The SES group of respondents ranged from the upper class to the working class (see Table 1(d)). The SES group showed significant differences across locales. The city sample was composed of respondents with a higher SES as compared with the town and the squatter samples, while the squatter sample was only composed of the working class individuals. A majority of 85% of the respondents were married; however, the percentage across the three samples (city, town and squatter) were significantly different (see Table 1(b)). Respondents' size of family ranged from the family comprising of husband and wife to the family comprising of parents, sisters and brothers (see Table 1(e)). Respondents' family size differed significantly across locales: both the city respondents and the town respondents had a smaller size family than the squatter respondents, while the city and the town respondents did not differ in this respect. Respondents' length of residency in their present residences also ranged from 'less than a year' to 'since birth (see Table 1(f)), and this showed a significant difference across locales. The city respondents had a shorter length of residency than the town and the squatter respondents, while the town respondents had a significantly shorter length of residency than the squatter respondents.

In the analysis to be reported in this section, respondents of the four towns, two cities and the four city-squatter areas were combined to constitute the town, city and city squatter samples. On each measure of social behaviour, a multiple regression analysis was done to

Table 1

Respondents' personal characteristics across three environments

	City	Town	Squatter	Total
Sex[a]				
1. Male	68.2	41.0	38.0	49.6
2. Female	31.8	59.0	62.0	50.5
	(n=88)	(n=66)	(n=101)	(n=256)
Stage of Life[b]				
1. Married	74.7	81.3	98.0	85.0
2. Unmarried	25.3	18.7	2.0	15.0
	(n=88)	(n=66)	(n=101)	(n=256)
Age[c]				
1. Age 25 and below	21.1	18.5	8.4	15.2
2. Between 26-44	55.3	59.3	55.4	55.2
3. Between 45-65	22.5	22.2	36.1	27.7
4. Age 65 and above	1.3	0	0	0.4
	(n=88)	(n=66)	(n=101)	(n=256)
Birth Place Origin[d]				
1. Present place of residence	64.8	88.4	9.	
2. Another place	35.2	11.6	91.	
	(n=88)	(n=66)	(n=101)	
SES[e]				
1. Upper middle class	19.5	3.5	0	7.0
2. Middle class	62.19	57.1	0	28.5
3. Lower middle class	17.07	30.1	2.	19.1
4. Upper working class	0	3.0	25.8	10.5
5. Working class	1.5	6.3	72.18	29.3
	(n=88)	(n=66)	(n=101)	(n=256)

Table 1 (continued)

Size of Family[f]				
1. Single	20.2	12.5	2.	11.06
2. Family with no children	30.3	15.7	10.	20.1
3. Family with one or more children	34.8	46.8	55.	45.8
4. Family living together with parents	10.1	19.9	19.	13.8
5. Family living together with parents, sisters and brothers	4.5	7.8	14.	9.09
	(n=88)	(n=66)	(n=101)	(n=256)
Length of Residency[g]				
1. Less than a year	10.1	10.2	2.7	6.6
2. Between 1-4 years	20.7	11.9	6.8	11.3
3. Between 5-9 years	18.3	13.6	11.0	12.1
4. Between 10-19 years	17.1	18.6	16.4	14.4
5. Over 20 years	26.8	23.7	63.0	32.0
6. Since birth	6.1	22.0	0	7.
	(n=88)	(n=66)	(n=101)	(n=256)

[a] Chi-square analysis showed that there was a significant difference in the composition of sex across the three settings ($\chi^2(2) = 19.8$, $p < .01$). The city sample was significantly different in its sex composition than the town sample ($\chi^2(1) = 11.9$, $p < .01$) and the squatter sample ($\chi^2(1) = 17.1$, $p < .01$), while the town sample and the squatter sample did not differ from each other ($\chi^2(1) = 14.6$, $p < .01$).

[b] Chi-square analysis showed a significant association between respondents' stage of life and locales ($\chi^2(2) = 25.78$, $p < .01$). The city sample were not significantly different in the stage of life from the town sample ($\chi^2(1) = 1.09$, ns), but different from the squatter sample ($\chi^2(1) = 25.4$, $p < .01$), while the town sample was also significantly different from the squatter sample in this respect ($\chi^2(1) = 14.6$, $p < .01$).

[c] Chi-square analysis showed no significant difference in the distribution of the age of respondents across settings ($\chi^2(6) = 9.91$, ns). The city respondents' age composition was not significantly different from the town respondents ($\chi^2(3) = 7.85$, $p < .05$), while the town sample did not differ from the squatter sample in age ($\chi^2(3) = 4.75$, ns).

Table 1 (continued)

d Chi-square analysis showed a significant association between locale and place of origin of respondents ($\chi^2(2) = 113.9$, $p < .01$). The city respondents were significantly different in their birth place composition than the town respondents ($\chi^2(1) = 10.6$, $p < .01$), and the city-squatter respondents ($\chi^2(1) = 64.5$, $p < .01$), while the town respondents' composition in this respect also showed a significant difference from the city-squatter respondents ($\chi^2(1) = 103.8$, $p < .01$).

e Respondents' socio-economic group classification was made on the basis of information about their occupations and, for this, Mardin's social class stratification (1967) for the Turkish society was used. Distribution of respondents' SES categories were as follows:

1. the upper middle class: business men, professionals and university graduates;
2. the middle class: high school graduates and small private business men, shop owners;
3. the lower middle class: office clerks, secretaries;
4. the upper working class: skilled workers, drivers, foremen;
5. the working class: semi-skilled workers and unskilled workers.

Chi-square analysis showed a significant association between locale and the SES groups of respondents ($\chi^2(8) = 200$, $p < .01$). The city respondents were significantly different in their SES composition from the town respondents ($\chi^2(4) = 16.16$, $p < .01$) and the squatter respondents ($\chi^2(4) = 168$, $p < .01$), while the town respondents were also significantly different from the squatter respondents in this respect ($\chi^2(4) = 113.46$, $p < .01$).

f Chi-square analysis showed a significant association between locale and the size of family ($\chi^2(6) = 36.65$, $p < .01$). The city sample was not different in the size of family from the town sample ($\chi^2(4) = 4.15$, ns) but significantly different from the squatter sample ($\chi^2(4) = 36.04$, $p < .01$), while the town sample significantly differed from the squatter sample in this respect ($\chi^2(4) = 14.25$, $p < .01$).

g Chi-square analysis showed a significant association between the length of residency and localities ($\chi^2(7) = 48.44$, $p < .01$). The city respondents were significantly different in the length of residency from the town respondents ($\chi^2(5) = 9.5$, $p < .05$) and the squatter residents ($\chi^2(5) = 26.21$, $p < .01$), while the town residents also were significantly different from the squatter residents in this respect ($\chi^2(5) = 30.78$, $p < .01$).

examine relationships between a given social behaviour and several variables such as respondents' sex, stage of life, origin, SES, length of residence and locale of residence. If the locale of residence variable in the analysis showed a significant effect, further analysis on differences between the three samples for the social behaviour was carried out. The computation of multiple regression analysis was carried out by the use of a package program, statistical package for social sciences (SPSS), and codes of the variables in this computation are reported in Appendix .

5.3.2 Kin's social behaviour

Spatial distance between kin

First, the spatial distance between kin members' residence was examined. This variable, as suggested earlier, may explain the degree to which the social contacts and helpfulness occur between kin. The kin spatial distance was sought by asking respondents how close they lived to their (a) mother and father, including in-laws, (b) brothers and sisters, (c) uncles and aunts, and (d) other relatives. The average rating across four types of relatives on a four point scale ('living together' to 'living in other city or town' rated 5 to 1, respectively) was 1.77. A multiple regression analysis was undertaken for the relationship between respondents' personal characteristics (eg sex, age, stage of life, birth place, SES, length of residency and locale of residence) and respondents' kin spatial distance. The analysis revealed (when other factors were controlled for) a strong significant association between respondents' locale of residence (city, town, squatter areas) and their kin spatial distance ($F(7.171) = 2.307$, $p < .02$) (see Table 2). There was also an effect of respondents' personal characteristics on kin spatial distance. The female respondents lived closer to their kin, as did unmarried respondents. Respondents' background in

Table 2

Multiple regression effect parameters (B) and standardized effect (B*) of respondents' personal characteristics on the spatial distance between kin

Variables	B	B*
Sex	2.331	0.166[1]
Age	-0.870	-0.075
Stage in Life	-1.127	-0.139[2]
Birth place	-0.152	-0.151[3]
SES	-0.032	-0.106
Length of residency	0.704	0.134[4]
Locale	1.367	0.153[5]

[1] $F(7,171) = 4.79$, $p < .01$

[2] $F(7,171) = 3.23$, $p < .01$

[3] $F(7,171) = 3.67$, $p < .01$

[4] $F(7,171) = 2.83$, $p < .01$

[5] $F(7,171) = 2.37$, $p < .02$

terms of birth place influenced the geographical proximity between kin; respondents with town or rural birth place background tended to live closer to their kin. As expected, the length of residency and respondents' kin spatial distance was significantly related ($F(7.171) = 2.83$, $p < .01$); the longer a respondents' length of residency, the larger the number of relatives living nearby (ie closer in terms of spatial distance).

Since the locales (city, town, squatter) showed a significant association with the kin proximity, a further analysis was carried out to examine differences between locales, and this analysis showed a significant difference in the geographical proximity across locales ($F(2,253) = 5.728$, $p < .01$) (see Table 3).

Table 3

Comparison of city, town and squatter respondents on their kin spatial distance

	M	σ	N
City	15.84	7.31	88
Town	19.96	9.14	67
Squatter	17.53	6.2	101

Overall difference:	$(F(2,253) = 5.728, p < .01)$
City versus town:	$(t(183) = -18.81, p < .01)$
City versus squatter:	$(t(187) = -11.73, p < .01)$
Town versus squatter:	$(t(166) = +8.60, p < .01)$

The city respondents had significantly less relatives living spatially closer than the town and the squatter respondents, while town

respondents had more relatives living at a close distance than the squatter respondents.

The frequency of social contacts between kin

Let us turn to the question of how much social contacts respondents had with their kin and consider the relative impact of respondents' personal characteristics (eg sex, age, stage of life, birth place, SES, length of residence, locale of residence) as well as kin spatial distance. The kin's social contact scores were evaluated by the question which asked respondents how frequently they got in touch with their kin: (a) mother and father, (b) sisters and brothers, (c) aunts and uncles, and (d) other relatives. The average rating across four types of relatives on a five point scale ('almost every day' to 'never' rated 5 to 1, respectively) was 1.91.

Two separate multiple regression analyses[1] were carried out to evaluate the notion that kin in the city environment are spatially dispersed, hence, it is this spatial distance which may be responsible for a possible city/town difference in the frequency of social contacts, otherwise there would be no major influence of the urban environment per se on this valued relation. This presentation was tested by the two steps of analysis.

In the first analysis (table is not reported here), there was a strong influence of respondents' locale of residence on the frequency of kin social contacts, as the value of B* indicated the town and the city squatter residents tended to have more frequent contacts. In the second analysis, when the kin spatial distance was introduced, the effect of the locale of residence disappeared, and the kin spatial distance became a strong significant factor for the frequency of kin

[1] Those respondents who stated 'no kin' were dropped out of the present analysis as well as the remaining analysis of kin social behaviour which will be reported in the following sections.

social contact (see Table 4). This result supported the earlier findings of Key (1968), Bultena (1969), Koyama (1970) and Kasadra and Janowitz (1974) that the spatial distance between kin members influences the frequency of their social contacts, and, as seen, there is no effect of locality of residence on the social contacts between kin.

Helpfulness between kin

The helpfulness between kin was examined by asking respondents to recall occasions of having exchanged help with their kin, within the last six months. Respondents reported the occurrence of various types of helpfulness between their kin by using a list of twelve kinds of helpfulness (eg borrowing small household items, doing household jobs, looking after children, requesting care in a period of sickness, etc) and, additionally, they were instructed to state any exchange of helpfulness that was not specified in the list. Respondents reported 706 instances of helpfulness exchanged with their kin (an average of 3.05): 24.2% of respondents reported no occasion, while 56.3% of them reported between 1-5 occasions and the remaining 19.5% of respondents had six or more occasions of exchanging helpfulness. Most frequently rated types of exchanges were: (a) borrowing a small amount of money (11.1%); (b) looking after children (10.2%); (c) doing some household jobs (9.6%); (d) asking advice in taking a job (8.08%) (see Appendix for what types of helpfulness respondents exchanged with their kin within the last six months). A multiple regression analysis for the relationship between respondents' personal characteristics and the occurrence of helpfulness between their kin only showed a significant effect on respondents' locale of residence. However, a further analysis adding the kin spatial distance variable was undertaken for the actuality that kin in the urban environment are spatially dispersed (see the result of kin spatial distance), thus the locale effect may simply reflect this spatial distance between kin. As a result, the effect of respondents'

Table 4

Multiple regression effect parameters (B) and standardized effect (B*) of respondents' personal characteristics on the frequency of social contacts between kin

Variables	B	B*
Sex	0.660	0.063
Age	-0.776	-0.089
Stage in life	-0.670	-0.11[1]
Birth place	-0.451	-0.060
SES	-0.242	-0.005
Length of residency	-0.376	-0.096
Locale	0.129	0.019
Spatial distance between kin	0.326	0.437[2]

[1] $F(8,170) = 2.33$, $p < .02$

[2] $F(8,170) = 37.94$, $p < .01$

locale of residence (urban, non-urban, squatter settlements) weakened (marginally significant) and the kin spatial distance emerged as a very strong influential variable for the occurrence of helpfulness between kin (see Table 5). As in the frequency of kin social contacts, this result is consistent with the prediction of the present study that kin in urban environments as compared with the non-urban environments are geographically dispersed, and this feature of the urban environment influenced the occurrence of the helpfulness between kin, but the locale (eg urban/non-urban) does not have any influence per se.

Expected helpfulness between kin

Further investigation concerning kin helpfulness was pursued by a series of questions which asked respondents how easy it was for them to ask their kin for help in various areas (eg looking after children for a couple of hours, discussing personal problems, asking to share kin's house in the course of house shortage, etc). The average rating across the 16 types of requests on a five-point scale of difficulty ('no problem', 'I can ask', 'no idea', 'hard', 'very hard' rated 4 to 0, respectively) was 2.85 (see Appendix for the 16 types of helpfulness).

A multiple regression analysis for the relationship between respondents' personal characteristics and respondents' perception of ease-of-asking help (or the expected helpfulness) from their kin showed no significant influence of respondents' locale of residence (eg city, town and squatter settlements) on the kin expected helpfulness (see Table 6). While respondents' stage of life (eg unmarried kin members) influenced their perception of their kin as more a source of help, the spatial distance between kin, contrary to the case of the occurrence of kin helpfulness, had a very limited effect on respondents' expected kin helpfulness. Taken together, the present results suggest kin in the urban environments (as compared with town and squatter environments) were spatially dispersed. The frequency of social contacts, the

Table 5

Multiple regression effect parameter (B) and standardized effect (B*) of respondents' personal characteristics on the occurrence of helpfulness between kin

Variables	B	B*
Sex	0.249	0.050
Age	0.393	0.009
Stage in life	0.167	-0.002
Birth place	0.421	0.011
SES	0.165	0.078
Length of residency	0.270	0.014
Locale	0.133	0.106
Spatial distance between kin	0.160	0.230[1]

[1] $F(8,170) = 4.28$, $p < .01$

Table 6

Multiple regression effect parameter (B) and standardized effect (B*) of respondents' personal characteristics of the expected helpfulness between kin

Variables	B	B*
Sex	-0.362	0.013
Age	0.513	0.002
Stage in life	-0.914	0.170[1]
Birth place	0.483	0.071
SES	0.237	0.003
Length of residency	0.751	0.061
Locale	0.192	0.089
Spatial distance between kin	0.826	0.124

[1] $F(8,170) = 4.335$, $p < .01$

occurrence of helpfulness (marginally significant) and the expected helpfulness between kin were not affected by respondents' living in the city, town and squatter environments, but rather by the spatial distance between kin members.

5.3.3 Friends' social behaviour

Number of 'close friends'

Respondents were asked to state the names and addresses (or approximate place) of up to six persons whom they considered to be their closest friends. Respondents' 'close friends' ranged from 1 to 6, averaging 4.92. Relationships between respondents' having personal characteristics were examined. The multiple regression analysis showed no significant influence of the locale of residence, nor of any of those respondents' characteristics such as sex, life-cycle, stage of life, SES and length of residency, except for respondents' birth place background (see Table 7). There occurred an interesting finding which seems worth mentioning, that urban residents had some slightly more friends (average 5.06) than both the town residents (average 4.82) and the city-squatter residents (4.88), further disconfirming the urban impact hypothesis.

Origin of friendship

Respondents' origin of friendship was evaluated by the question 'what is the origin of friendship with the above-mentioned friends?'. Respondents stated their origin of friendship by using four response scales (most of my friends are childhood friends; most of my friends are neighbourhood originated; most of my friends are my work associates or colleagues; other types of friends; rated 4 to 1, respectively). A multiple regression analysis showed a strong influence of respondents' locale of residence on the origin of friendship (see Table 8). Also, respondents' origin, SES group and length of residency influenced their

Table 7

Multiple regression effect parameters (B) and standardized effect (B*) of respondents' personal characteristics on having a number of close friends

Variable	B	B*
Sex	-0.373	-0.014
Age	0.773	0.003
Stage in life	0.925	0.063
Origin	0.306	0.169[1]
SES	0.311	0.029
Length of residency	0.417	0.004
Locale	-0.213	-0.133

[1] $F(7,171) = 4.24$, $p < .01$

Table 8

Multiple regression effect parameter (B) and standardized effect (B*) of respondents' personal characteristics on the origin of friendship

Variable	B	B*
Sex	0.852	0.069
Age	0.555	0.005
Stage in life	0.327	0.071
Origin	0.492	0.156[1]
SES	0.391	0.149[2]
Length of residency	0.111	0.157[3]
Locale	0.101	0.156[4]

[1] $F(7,171) = 2.69$, $p < .01$

[2] $F(7,171) = 2.82$, $p < .01$

[3] $F(7,171) = 3.03$, $p < .01$

[4] $F(7,171) = 2.58$, $p < .01$

origin of friendship. Those respondents who had an origin other than their present place of residence, lower socio-economic status respondents, and respondents with a long-time residency tended to have their friendship originated in more locale neighbourhood or from their childhood.

Since the locale of residence was an influential variable, a further analysis for the difference between city, town and city-squatter settlements was carried out. Chi-square analysis showed a significant difference across three settings in respondents' origin of friendship (see Table 9).

Spatial distance between friends

The spatial distance between friends was examined by the question 'how close do you live to the above-mentioned friends?'. Respondents indicated this by using four response scales ('they all lived in the same neighbourhood' to 'they all lived in another city, town' rated 4 to 1, respectively). The analysis[1] for the relationship between respondents' personal characteristics and the spatial distance between respondents and their friends showed a strong significant influence or respondents' locale of residence (eg city, town, city-squatter) when other factors were controlled for (see Table 10).

Also, respondents' socio-economic status and length of residency had effects on the spatial distance between friends. Those respondents with high length of residency tended to have more friends living nearby, which supports the findings of Kasadra and Janowitz (1974). Additionally, respondents with a higher status tended to have a smaller proportion of their friends residing within a close vicinity (marginally significant), which was also found by Kasadra and Janowitz (1974).

[1] Those residents who stated 'no friends' were dropped out of the analysis as well as the remaining analysis of freindship social behaviour which will be reported in the following sections.

Table 9

Comparison of the city, town and city-squatter residents on their origin of friendship[1]

	City	Town	City-squatter
1. Mostly childhood friends	9.6	19.3	17.1
2. Neighbourhood originated friends	36.2	61.4	76.8
3. Work associates	45.8	17.5	6.1
4. Other kind of friends than the above three	8.4	1.8	1.0
	(n=83)	(n=57)	(n=99)

[1] $\chi^2(6) = 49.93, p < .01$

City versus town: $\chi^2(3) = 14.37, p < .01$

City versus squatter: $\chi^2(3) = 50.3, p < .01$

Town versus squatter: $\chi^2(3) = 6.3$, ns

Table 10

Multiple regression effect parameter (B) and standardized effect (B*) of respondents' personal characteristics on geographical proximity between them and their friends

Variable	B	B
Sex	0.133	0.071
Age	0.742	0.048
Stage in life	0.195	0.018
Birth place	0.400	0.050
SES	0.313	0.091[1]
Length of residency	0.171	0.283[2]
Locale	0.432	0.365[3]

[1] $F(7,171) = 1.70$, $p < .01$

[2] $F(7,171) = 11.99$, $p < .01$

[3] $F(7,171) = 16.73$, $p < .01$

A further analysis showed a significant difference in the friends' spatial distance across the city, town and squatter environments ($\chi^2(6) = 71.29$, $p < .01$) (see Table 11). The city respondents had their friends spatially more dispersed than the town respondents, and the squatter respondents, while the town respondents' friends also were more spatially dispersed than the squatter respondents' friends. As can be seen from Table 11, the squatter respondents' friendship suggests a very interesting picture: almost all their close friends were from the same squatter settlement (88.9%). In this respect the group closest to squatter respondents are town respondents of whom 84.2% reported friends living in the neighbourhood of their town. On the other hand, urban respondents' friends were quite dispersed within the city: 36.1% of friends lived in another part of the city and 19.3% in another town or city, while only 44.6% of the urban respondents' friends were reported as living in the same neighbourhood.

The frequency of social contacts between friends

How much social contacts respondents had with their friends was evaluated by the question 'how often do you see your friends?'. The responses were indicated by a rating on a four-point scale ('every day' to 'occasionally' rated 4 to 1, respectively). By including the friends' spatial distance variable, an analysis on the friend frequency of social contacts was carried out. As the analysis revealed, there was no effect of locale of residence on the frequency of social contacts when other factors were controlled for (see Table 12). Yet, the spatial distance between friends strongly affected the frequency of social contacts. Also the length of residency had some limited effect on the social contacts. Respondents who had a longer length of residency tended to have more frequent social contacts with their friends.

The pattern of friends' social contacts across environments

A further investigation of friendship was pursued by the question

Table 11

Comparison of city, town and squatter respondents on their friends' spatial distance[a] (frequency in %)

	City	Town	Squatter
All live in the same neighbourhood	22.9	42.1	71.7
Most of them live in the same neighbourhood	21.7	42.1	17.2
Most of them live in another neighbourhood	36.1	5.3	9.1
All live in another town or city	19.3	10.5	2.0
	(n=88)	(n=67)	(n=101)

[a] $\chi^2(6) = 71.29$, $p < .01$

City versus town: $\chi^2(3) = 24.05$, $p < .01$

City versus squatter: $\chi^2(3) = 50.52$, $p < .01$

Town versus squatter: $\chi^2(3) = 21.32$, $p < .01$

Table 12

Multiple regression effect parameter (B) and standardized effect (B*) of respondents' personal characteristics on the frequency of social contacts with their friends

Variable	B	B*
Sex	0.163	0.074
Age	-0.306	0.016
Stage in life	-0.493	0.038
Birth place	-0.152	0.096
SES	0.696	0.007
Length of residency	0.921	0.115[1]
Locale	0.291	0.098
Spatial distance between friends	0.326	0.168[2]

[1] $F(8,171) = 1.86$, $p < .10$

[2] $F(8,171) = 4.10$, $p < .01$

which asked respondents 'which way do you get in touch with your friends?'. Respondents rated this on a five-point scale: (a) usually home visiting, (b) usually meeting somewhere else in the locale place, (d) usually somewhere else out of the locale place, (d) usually at work place, (e) usually by telephone or other means, rated 5 to 1, respectively. Multiple regression analysis showed a strong significant effect of locale of residence on respondents' pattern of social contacts between friends (see Table 13). Spatial distance between friends also affected significantly their intimate social contacts: friends resided away from each other had social contacts in a less intimate way. Respondents who were female, of a lower age group, having origin other than the present place of residence and having a long-time residence, tended to have social contacts with their friends in a more intimate fashion.

In a further analysis on the locale of residence, there was some difference in intimacy of friendship social contacts across the three settings ($\chi^2(8) = 69.96$, $p < .01$) (see Table 14). The city respondents, in their pattern of intimacy of social contacts, differed significantly from the town respondents ($\chi^2(4) = 15.7$, $p < .01$), and the squatter respondents ($\chi^2(4) = 85.67$, $p < .01$), while the town respondents were also significantly different from the squatter respondents ($\chi^2(4) = 27.55$, $p < .01$).

The occurrence of helpfulness between friends

The occurrence of helpfulness between friends was evaluated by the question format, in a similar manner to that for kin helpfulness (see kin helpfulness section). Respondents, by using a list of twelve kinds of helpfulness, reported various kinds of help exchanged with their friends which had occurred within the last six months. They reported 628 occasions of various types of help exchanges with their friends which was averaged 2.4 per respondent. Of respondents, 25%

Table 13

Multiple regression effect parameter (B) and standardized effect (B*) of respondents' personal characteristics on the pattern of social contacts between friends

Variable	B	B*
Sex	0.164	0.091[1]
Age	-0.167	0.113[2]
Stage in life	-0.805	-0.078
Origin	0.240	0.187[3]
SES	0.422	0.055
Length of residency	0.155	0.196[4]
Locale	0.393	0.226[5]
Spatial distance between friends	0.437	0.241[6]

[1] $F(8,171) = 1.99$, $p < .10$

[2] $F(8,171) = 3.01$, $p < .01$

[3] $F(8,171) = 7.72$, $p < .01$

[4] $F(8,171) = 6.54$, $p < .01$

[5] $F(8,171) = 10.04$, $p < .01$

[6] $F(8,171) = 11.54$, $p < .01$

Table 14

Comparison of city, town and squatter respondents on their friends' intimacy of social contacts score[a] (frequency in %)

	City	Town	Squatter
Usually home visiting	30.0	21.42	10.10
Usually meeting somewhere else in the locale place	12.0	42.8	81.0
Usually meeting somewhere else out of the locale place	14.5	1.8	1.0
Usually at the office (or place of work)	22.9	23.2	6.1
By telephone or other means	20.5	10.7	1.0
	(n=83)	(n=65)	(n=99)

[a] $\chi^2(8) = 69.96$, $p < .01$

City versus town: $\chi^2(4) = 15.7$, $p < .01$

City versus squatter: $\chi^2(4) = 91.04$, $p < .01$

Town versus squatter: $\chi^2(4) = 35.80$, $p < .01$

reported no help exchange, 64.4% reported help exchange of 1-5 occasions, while the remaining 11.6% reported more than five occasions of helpfulness. The most frequently reported incidences of helpfulness between respondents and their friends were: discussing personal matters (16.2%), borrowing a small amount of money (12.3%), looking after children (10.4%), borrowing some personal belongings (9.9%) (see Appendix).

A multiple regression analysis for the relationship between respondents' personal characteristics on the occurrence of helpfulness between respondents and their friends was undertaken. As the analysis indicated, respondents' locale of residence had a significant influence on the occurrence of helpfulness when other factors were controlled for. However, sex, age and social class also had effects on the occurrence of helpfulness (see Table 15). Female respondents exchanged more help with their friends. The respondents with a lower status tended to exchange more help with their friends and this result was consistent with the previous data of Young and Willmott (1962), Gans (1962), yet not with Smith, Form and Stone (1954), who found greater helpfulness among the higher SES individuals. The advanced life-cycle (age) of respondents also had a negative influence on the occurrence of helpfulness which supported the earlier finding of Kasadra and Janowitz (1974). The final variable that influenced the occurrence of helpfulness between friends was the spatial distance between friends. However, as already seen, the locale variable (all other independent variables controlled for) showed an association with the occurrence of freind-helpfulness. This result is interesting, especially in the light of the previously suggested analysis, that locale differences in helpfulness may be a function of spatial distance between friends. Yet, this was not the case in the present study: even with the spatial distance controlled for, respondents' locale of residence had a persistent

Table 15

Multiple regression effect parameter (B) and standardized effect (B*) of respondents' personal characteristics on the occurrence of helpfulness

Variable	B	B*
Sex	0.564	0.137[1]
Age	0.466	0.137[2]
Stage in life	0.204	0.034
Birth place	0.143	0.004
SES	0.328	0.188[3]
Length of residency	0.161	0.104[4]
Locale	0.360	0.137[5]
Spatial distance between friends	0.416	0.143[6]

[1] $F(8,171) = 3.58, p < .01$

[2] $F(8,171) = 3.53, p < .01$

[3] $F(8,171) = 3.81, p < .01$

[4] $F(8,171) = 1.89, p < .10$

[5] $F(8,171) = 2.03, p < .02$

[6] $F(8,171) = 2.67, p < .01$

influence on the occurrence of friend helpfulness.

When we turn to further analysis of the locale variable, the three samples showed significant differences in the occurrence of helpfulness between friends ($F(2,253) = 16.46$, $p < .01$) (see Table 16).

Table 16

Comparison of city, town and squatter respondents on the occurrence of friend-helpfulness scores[a]

	M	σ	N
City	1.58	2.04	88
Town	2.26	1.97	67
City squatter	3.37	2.27	101

[a] $F(2,253) = 16.46$, $p < .01$

The city respondents exchanged significantly less help with their friends than the town respondents ($t(153) = -2.12$, $p < .03$) and the squatter respondents ($t(187) = -5.59$, $p < .01$), and the town respondents also exchanged less helpfulness than the city squatter respondents ($t(166) = -3.23$, $p < .01$).

The expected helpfulness between friends

As with kin, friends' expected helpfulness was evaluated by the question 'how easy is it for you to ask friends for help?'. The question format used was similar to that for kin expected helpfulness (see the kin helpfulness section). The average ratings across the 16 types of helpfulness that respondents reported easy to ask from their friends was 3.12 (see Appendix for respondents' ratings of frineds' helpfulness).

A multiple regression analysis showed no effect of respondents' locale of residence on the expected helpfulness, while there was influence of life-cycle (age) and origin (see Table 17).

As seen in the above analysis, by contrast to the occurrence of helpfulness, the spatial distance between friends and respondents' locale of residence did not have any influence on respondents' expectation of various types of helpfulness from their friends. In sum, then, the present results suggest that the urban environment has a limited influence on the social behaviour between friends, when toher potential influential variables are controlled for. Only in a few measures of friends' social behaviour did city respondents differ from the town respondents and the city-squatter respondents, while the city-squatter respondents matched in all ways to the town respondents. Overall, this result supports the previous findings in this area of research that city living has no significant influence on friends' social behaviour (Key, 1968; Reiss, 1959; Sutcliffe and Crabbe, 1967; Kasadra and Janowitz, 1974).

5.3.4 Social contacts and helpfulness between neighbours

Familiarity with locale

Two aspects of neighbourly relationships were examined. The first aspect involved respondents' familiarity with their locale neighbourhood, while the second concerned several types of respondents' social behaviour with immediate neighbours (eg neighbours in the same street or block of flats).

The first question asked respondents 'how well do you know people in your neighbourhood?' and was evaluated by four different response categories ('I know a large number of people quite well' to 'I know no-one' rated 4 to 1, respectively). The analysis of the relationships between respondents' personal characteristics and their familiarity

Table 17

Multiple regression effect parameters (B) and standardized effect (B*) of respondents' personal characteristics on the expected helpfulness between friends

Variable	B	B*
Sex	-0.355	0.014
Age	-0.391	-0.208[1]
Stage in life	0.439	0.048
Birth place	0.169	0.123[2]
SES	0.522	0.065
Length of residency	0.432	0.096
Locale	0.396	0.080
Spatial distance between friends	0.805	0.098

[1] $F(8,170) = 4.10$, $p < .01$

[2] $F(8,170) = 3.16$, $p < .01$

with their neighbourhood residents showed strong influences of respondents' locale of residence on their knowing a number of neighbourhood residences well (see Table 18). As expected, respondents' length of residency had a very strong effect on their familiarity with neighbourhood. Also, respondents' personal characteristics such as sex and origin were associated with this measure. Those who had a birth place origin other than their present environment tended to know more people in the neighbourhood.

A separate analysis for differences between city, town and squatter settlements was carried out, since respondents' locale of residence was a significant factor in multiple regression analysis. There was a significant difference across the city, town and squatter environments ($\chi^2(6) = 48.62$, $p < .01$) (see Table 19). The city respondents knew a significantly lower number of neighbourhood residents than the town respondents ($\chi^2(3) = 23.8$, $p < .01$), and the squatter respondents ($\chi^2(3) = 40.05$, $p < .01$), while the town respondents did not differ from the squatter respondents in this respect ($\chi^2(3) = 1.63$, ns).

Knowing a number of neighbours

The next question examined was 'how many neighbours do you know well?' (eg those in the same street or block of flats). The question consisted of four response categories: 'I know six or more neighbours well' to 'I know no neighbours well' rated 4 to 1, respectively. Of the respondents, 48% stated that they knew six or more neighbours well, 26.2% of respondents knew between six and three neighbours, and 20.5% of respondents knew between three and one neighbours well, respectively, while respondents who fell into 'I know no neighbours' category were 4.8%. Multiple regression showed a significant effect of respondents' locale of residence when other variables were controlled for (see Table 20). Also, length of residency, as expected, had a very strong effect on knowing a number of neighbours.

Table 18

Multiple regression effect parameters (B) and standardized effect (B*) of respondents' personal characteristics on familiarity with neighbourhood

Variable	B	B*
Sex	-0.280	-0.159[1]
Age	0.138	0.095
Stage in life	0.533	0.000
Birth place	0.232	0.184[2]
SES	0.784	0.105
Length of residency	0.204	0.330[3]
Locale	0.264	0.237[4]

[1] $F(7,171) = 5.10$, $p < .01$

[2] $F(7,171) = 6.31$, $p < .01$

[3] $F(7,171) = 17.52$, $p < .01$

[4] $F(7,171) = 6.34$, $p < .01$

Table 19

Comparison of city, town and squatter respondents on their familiarity with local neighbourhood residence[a] (frequency in %)

	City	Town	Squatter
I know quite a large number of local people well	11.6	24.2	20.8
I know some local people well	29.06	60.0	67.7
I know some local people to say 'hello' to	41.8	13.8	11.5
I know almost no-one	17.4	2.0	0
	(n=88)	(n=67)	(n=101)

[a] $\chi^2(6) = 48.62$, $p < .01$

City versus town: $\chi^2(3) = 23.8$, $p < .01$

City versus squatter: $\chi^2(3) = 40.05$, $p < .01$

Town versus squatter: $\chi^2(3) = 1.63$, ns

Table 20

Multiple regression effect parameter (B) and standardized effect (B*) of respondents' personal characteristics on knowing a number of neighbours well[a]

Variable	B	B*
Sex	0.228	0.013
Age	0.239	0.017
Stage in life	0.290	0.029
Birth place	0.786	0.064
SES	0.233	0.032
Length of residency	0.144	0.227[1]
Locale	0.201	0.187[2]

[1] $F(7,171) = 8.29$, $p < .01$

[2] $F(7,171) = 3.50$, $p < .01$

A further analysis for locale differences in number of neighbours showed a significant difference across the city, town and squatter environments ($\chi^2(6) = 30.26$, $p < .01$) (see Table 21). The city respondents knew significantly fewer neighbours well compared to the town respondents ($\chi^2(3) = 9.46$, $p < .02$) and squatter respondents ($\chi^2(3) = 18.25$, $p < .01$), while the town respondents did not differ significantly from the squatter respondents in this respect ($\chi^2(3) = 1.77$, ns). This result confirmed the findings of urban/non-urban differences by Key (1968), Fisher (1973) and Fava (1958).

Frequency of social contacts between neighbours

Turning to the questions 'how much social contact do you have with your neighbours?' and 'how intimate were these social contacts?', respondents indicated this by checking five response items (ie 'almost every day' to 'occasionally' rated 5 to 1, respectively), against four versions of the question (ie 'home visiting' to 'some other means' rated 4 to 1, respectively). These two scores were combined, weighting combinations from 1 to 20, to produce a single score for the neighbour frequency and intimacy of social contact. The inter-correlation between item scores was high, ranking +0.98 to +0.32 and averaging +0.78, which indicated the reliability of this measure for the neighbour social contacts.

A multiple regression analysis[1] on the frequency of neighbourly social contacts showed a significant effect of respondents' locale of residence (see Table 22).

Respondents' length of residency, as expected, significantly influenced the neighbourly social contacts: respondents who were

[1] Those respondents who stated 'no neighbours' or left blank were dropped out of the analysis, as well as the remaining analysis of neighbourly social behaviours, which will be reported in the next section.

Table 21

Comparison of city, town and squatter respondents on their knowing a number of neighbours[a]

	City	Town	Squatter
I know 6 or more neighbours well	36.0	55.3	57.7
I know between 6 and 3 neighbours well	23.3	26.2	28.9
I know between 3 and 1 neighbours well	30.2	18.5	13.4
I know no neighbours well	10.5	0	0
	(n=88)	(n=67)	(n=101)

[a] $\chi^2(5) = 20.26$, $p < .01$

City versus town: $\chi^2(3) = 9.46$, $p < .02$

City versus squatter: $\chi^2(3) = 18.25$, $p < .01$

Town versus squatter: $\chi^2(2) = 1.77$, ns

Table 22

Multiple regression effect parameter (B) and standardized effect (B*) of respondents' personal characteristics on the frequency and intimacy of neighbours' social contacts

Variable	B	B*
Sex	2.287	0.193[1]
Age	0.503	0.051
Stage in life	0.247	0.036
Birth place	0.595	0.007
SES	0.247	0.014
Length of residency	0.746	0.155[2]
Locale	1.433	0.191[3]

[1] $F(7,171) = 3.46$, $p < .01$

[2] $F(7,171) = 3.48$, $p < .01$

[3] $F(7,171) = 3.57$, $p < .01$

long-term residents knew more neighbours (see the previous result) and tended to have neighbourly social contacts more frequently and in an intimate way. Also, female respondents had more frequent and intimate contacts with their neighbours.

A further analysis of the frequency of neighbourly social contacts across locales showed a significant difference. The city respondents had significantly less frequent social contacts with their neighbours than the town respondents and the squatter respondents, while the town respondents did not differ significantly from the squatter respondents in this respect.

Table 23

Comparison of city, town and squatter respondents on their frequency of neighbourly social contacts[a]

	M	σ	N
City	8.26	5.54	88
Town	11.95	6.91	67
City squatter	12.27	6.27	101

[a] $F(2,253) = 11.85$, $p < .01$

City versus town: $t(153) = -3.69$, $p < .01$

City versus squatter: $t(187) = -4.64$, $p < .01$

Town versus squatter: $t(166) = -0.31$, ns)

The occurrence of helpfulness between neighbours

The occurrence of helpfulness between neighbours was evaluated by the question that asked respondents to recall what types of helpfulness they exchanged with their neighbours within the last six months. By

using a list of twelve kinds of helpfulness, respondents indicated the occurrence of helpfulness with their neighbours in various areas (the question format used was the same as that used before; see the section on kin helpfulness). Respondents reported an average of 2.49 occasions of helpfulness between their neighbours. The most frequently reported incidences of helpfulness between respondents and their friends were: (a) doing household jobs (17.8%), (b) borrowing small household items (17.5%), (c) doing shopping (16.8%), (d) using neighbours' telephone (14.31%).

A multiple regression analysis on the occurrence of helpfulness between neighbours was undertaken, which showed a strong significant effect of respondents' locale of residence. Respondents' length of residency, as in the analysis of neighbourly social contacts, had a strong significant effect on the occurrence of neighbourly helpfulness which supported the expectation. Also, being female and married with children influenced the level of actual occurrence of neighbourly helpfulness.

An additional analysis was carried out to test the view that the degree of social contact between neighbours is a crucial factor for the occurrence of the degree of helpfulness. With the level of neighbourly social contact held constant, respondents' locale of residence showed a significant effect as before. An interesting result was that the earlier significant effect of respondents' length of residency (ie before neighbours' social contact was introduced) became non-significant leaving the significant effect to the level of neighbourly social contacts (see Table 24). This result clearly showed that the length of residency played an important role in the development of neighbours' social contacts and, in turn, the level of social contacts determined the degree of occurrence of helpfulness between neighbours. Yet, above all, this social behaviour, as the hypothesis suggested, was influenced

Table 24

Multiple regression effect parameter (B) and standardized effect (B*) of respondents' personal characteristics on the occurrence of helpfulness[a]

Variable	B	B*
Sex	0.590	0.284[1]
Age	0.221	0.005
Stage in life	0.773	0.116[2]
Birth place	0.893	0.027
SES	0.165	0.084
Length of residency	0.569	0.048
Locale	0.543	0.156[3]
Level of neighbourly social contacts	0.652	0.257[4]

[1] $F(8,170) = 2.182, p < .02$

[2] $F(8,170) = 2.05, p < .02$

[3] $F(8,170) = 2.85, p < .01$

[4] $F(8,170) = 5.28, p < .01$

by city living.

Since the locale of respondents' residence had a significant influence on the occurrence of neighbourly helpfulness, separate analyses for differences in helpfulness between the three environments were carried out. The occurrence of helpfulness between neighbours showed significant differences across environments ($F(2,253) = 5.013$, $p < .01$) (see Table 25).

Table 25

Comparison of city, town and squatter respondents on their actual occurrence of neighbourly helpfulness scores[a]

	M	Q	N
City	1.76	2.6	88
Town	2.68	2.8	67
City squatter	2.98	2.11	101

[a] $F(2,253) = 6.60$, $p < .01$

City versus town: $t(153) = -3.05$, $p < .01$

City versus squatter: $t(187) = -3.63$, $p < .01$

Town versus squatter: $t(166) = -0.80$, ns

The city respondents exchanged significantly less help with their neighbours than the town respondents and the squatter respondents, while the town respondents did not differ significantly from the squatter respondents in this respect.

The expected helpfulness between neighbours

As in the examination of kin and friend helpfulness, a further investigation into respondents' perception of ease-of-helpfulness

Table 26

Multiple regression effect parameter (B) and standardized effect (B*) of respondents' characteristics on the neighbours' expected helpfulness

Variable	B	B*
Sex	0.267	0.143[1]
Age	0.520	0.052
Stage in life	0.243	0.138[2]
Birth place	0.671	0.101
SES	0.466	0.151[3]
Length of residency	0.452	0.177[4]
Locale	0.702	0.133[5]

[1] $F(7,171) = 3.29$, $p < .01$

[2] $F(7,171) = 2.98$, $p < .01$

[3] $F(7,171) = 3.66$, $p < .01$

[4] $F(7,171) = 4.71$, $p < .01$

[5] $F(7,171) = 2.81$, $p < .01$

(expected helpfulness) was carried out by the questionnaire (see the kin expected helpfulness section). The average rating across the 26 types of helpfulness requests on a five-point scale of difficulty (eg 'no problem' to 'very hard' rated 5 to 1, respectively) was 24.29 (see Appendix A6 for respondents' ratings of neighbour helpfulness).

A multiple regression analysis on the expected neighbourly helpfulness showed a significant effect of respondents' locale of residence (see Table 26). The length of residency was again strongly associated with perception of neighbours as a source of help. The female respondents and respondents married with children saw neighbours more as a source of help.

A further analysis for the locale differences on the expected neighbourly helpfulness showed a significant difference across the three settings (see Table 27).

Table 27

Comparison of city, town and squatter respondents on their perception of ease-of-asking for help from their neighbours

	M	σ	N
City	19.86	11.6	88
Town	25.14	9.6	67
City squatter	26.82	11.16	101

Overall:	$F(2,253) = 8.578$, $p < .01$
City versus town:	$t(153) = -3.57$, $p < .01$
City versus squatter:	$t(187) = -4.70$, $p < .01$
Town versus squatter:	$t(166) = -1.04$, ns

The city residents expected to exchange significantly less helpfulness with their neighbours than the town residents and their neighbours' residents, while the town residents did not differ from the city squatter residents in this respect.

In sum, then, in all measures of neighbourly social behaviours, city residents were significantly different: they had less familiarity with locale neighbourhood, knew less number of neighbours and had less social contacts and helpfulness with them than both the town and the city squatter respondents, while the city squatter respondents were invariably matched to their town counterparts in all neighbour social behaviour.

5.3.5 Relationship between helpfulness and source of help

The final question evaluated in the present study was the relationship between a particular type of helpfulness and a source of help.

First of all, respondents' preferences for frequent sources of helpfulness were examined. With regard to the evaluation of this question, two sets of helpfulness scores were observed: (a) the actual occurrence of helpfulness scores of kin, friends and neighbours, and (b) the expected helpfulness of kin, friends and neighbours were examined.

As will be recalled, respondents reported the actual occurrence of helpfulness within the last six months by repeatedly using the list of twelve kinds of assistance (see p 207). A comparison of the actual occurrence of helpfulness showed that the amount of helpfulness respondents exchanged with their kin was significantly greater than that of their friends (see Table 28; see also Table 29 for what types of help respondents exchanged with their three types of relations, and see Figure 1) and their neighbours, while there was no significant difference in the occurrence of helpfulness between respondents'

friends and neighbours.

Table 28

Comparison of respondents' kin, friends and neighbours in the actual occurrence of helpfulness

	M	σ	N
Between kin	3.05	2.6	256
Between friends	2.40	2.09	256
Between neighbours	2.47	2.50	256

Kin versus friends: $t(510) = 3.14$, $p < .01$

Kin versus neighbours: $t(510) = 2.58$, $p < .01$

Friends versus neighbours: $t(510) = 0.34$, ns

Also, when the occurrence of helpfulness was compared within each sub-sample, the city, town and city squatter settlements showed the same pattern of helpfulness across kin, friends and neighbours.

Overall, the most frequently sought source of help was that of kin, followed by friends and neighbours, although in some samples friends and neighbours were equally a source of help (see Table 30).

However, when we turn to the evaluation of respondents' expected helpfulness, by contrast to the reported occurrence of helpfulness, overall, friends were seen to be the most favourable helpers in the 16 types of assistance, followed by kin and neighbours (see Table 31; see also Table 34 for what types of help respondents exchanged with their three types of relations, and also Figure 2 for the graphical presentation of these types of help). As will be recalled, respondents expected helpfulness was evaluated by a series of 16 questions which asked them

Table 29

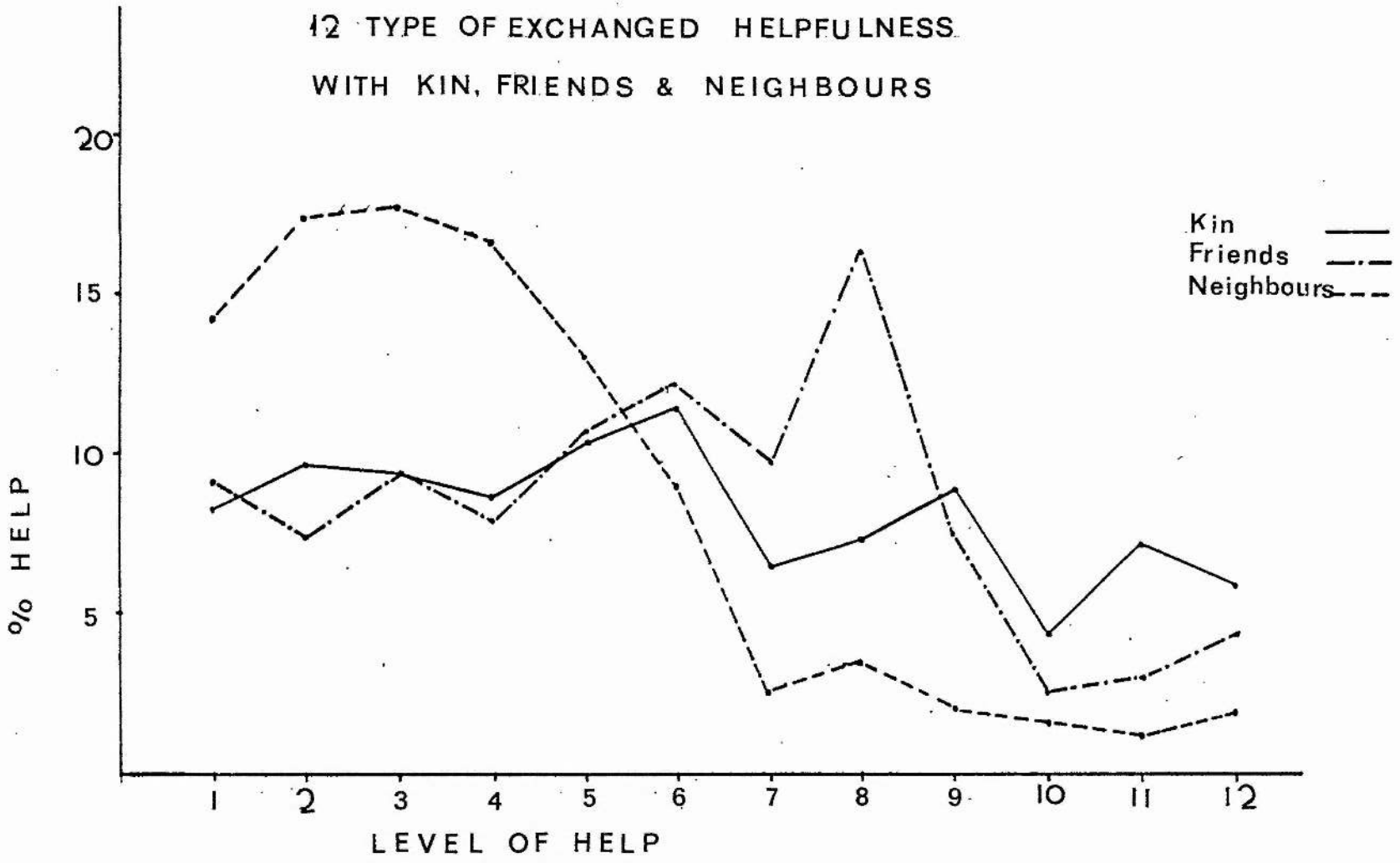
Twelve types of actual exchanged helpfulness with kin, friends and neighbours (frequency in %)

Type of Helpfulness	Kin	Friends	Neighbours
1. You asked to use the telephone or they did	8.06	8.9	14.3
2. You borrowed small household items or they did	9.8	7.13	17.5
3. You did some household jobs for them or they did for you	9.6	9.66	17.6
4. You did some shopping for them or they did for you	8.6	7.8	16.8
5. You looked after their children or they did for you	10.2	10.4	12.7
6. You borrowed a small amount of money from them or they did	11.1	12.32	8.2
7. You borrowed some personal things or they did	6.4	9.9	2.5
8. You discussed personal things with them or they did with you	7.3	16.2	3.6
9. You asked some advice about taking a job or they did	8.8	7.3	2.1
10. You asked assistance for getting a job or they did	4.5	2.9	1.7
11. You borrowed a fairly large amount of money or they did	7.2	3.3	1.4
12. You asked to be looked after because you were ill or they did	6.3	4.3	2.0
	(n=787)	(n=616)	(n=634)

FIGURE : 1

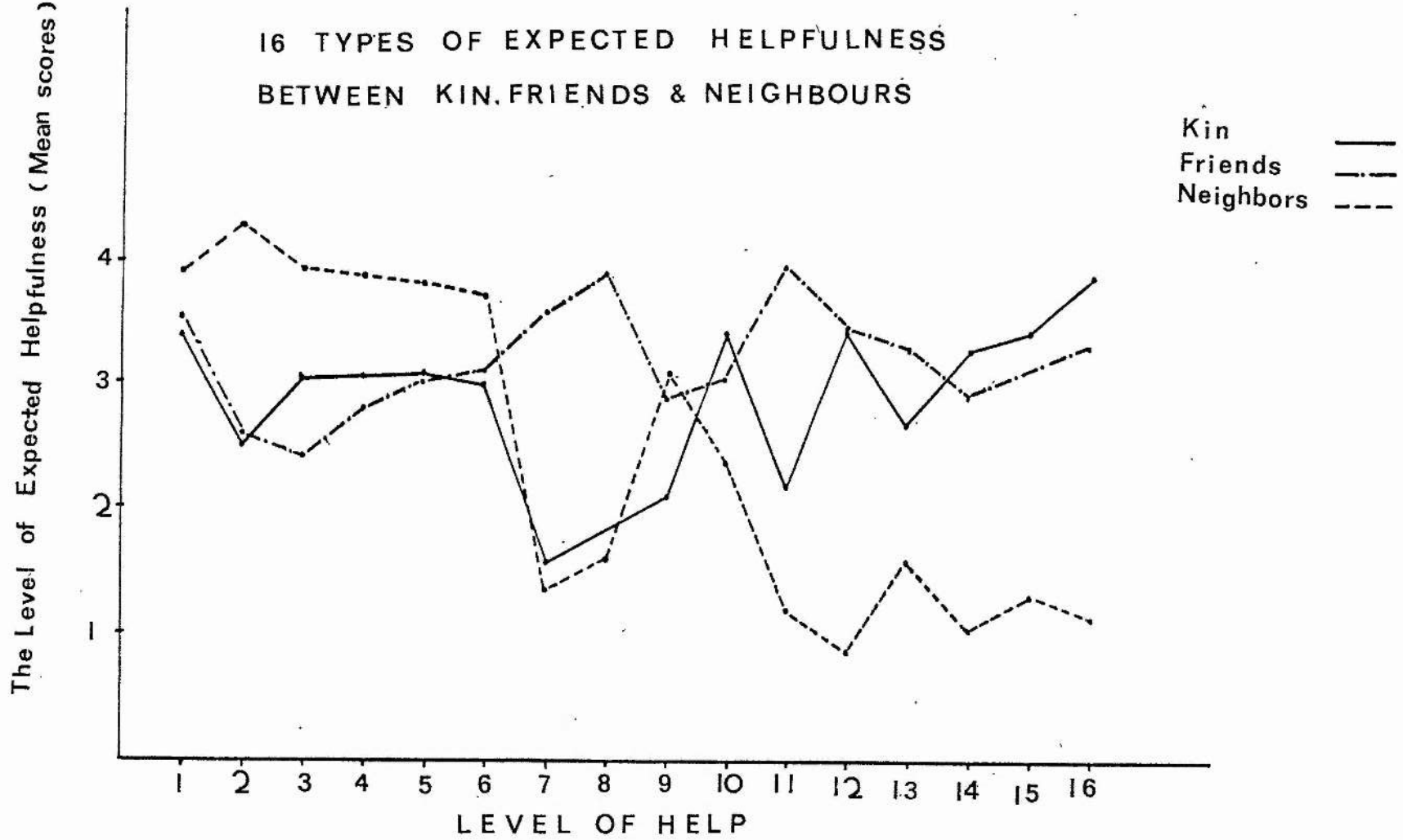
12 TYPE OF EXCHANGED HELPFULNESS

WITH KIN, FRIENDS & NEIGHBOURS



(see Table 29 for the frequency of exchanged helpfulness)

FIGURE: 2



(see Table 34 for scores of expected helpfulness)

Table 30

Comparison of respondents' kin, friends and neighbours in the occurrence of helpfulness within the city, town and squatter settlements

	City[a]			Town[b]			Squatter[c]		
	M	σ	N	M	σ	N	M	σ	N
Between kin	2.13	2.4	88	3.22	2.8	67	3.82	2.6	101
Between friends	1.58	2.04	88	2.26	1.97	67	3.37	2.27	101
Between neighbours	1.76	2.6	88	2.28	2.8	67	2.08	2.11	101

[a]
Kin versus friends: $t(174) = 1.63$, $p < .10$
Kin versus neighbours: $t(174) = 1.14$, ns
Friends versus neighbours: $t(132) = 0.508$, ns

[b]
Kin versus friends: $t(132) = 2.29$, $p < .01$
Kin versus neighbours: $t(132) = 1.11$, ns
Friends versus neighbours: $t(132) = -1.00$, ns

[c]
Kin versus friends: $t(200) = 1.31$, ns
Kin versus neighbours: $t(200) = 2.52$, $p < .01$
Friends versus neighbours: $t(200) = 1.25$, ns

how hard it was for them to ask these different types of help from kin, friends or neighbours.

Table 31

Comparison of respondents' kin, friends and neighbours in their perception of ease-of-asking for help

	M	σ	N
Between kin	28.59	7.6	256
Between friends	31.20	11.06	256
Between neighbours	24.29	10.69	256

Kin versus friends: $t(510) = -3.14$, $p < .01$

Kin versus neighbours: $t(510) = 5.3$, $p < .01$

Friends versus neighbours: $t(510) = 7.27$, $p < .01$

Also, a comparison of the expected helpfulness in the city, town and city squatter settlements showed a similar pattern to that obtained with the overall comparison: friends were the most favourable helpers, followed by kin and neighbours (see Table 32).

Relationship between the expected helpfulness and the actual occurrence of helpfulness

Respondents' expected helpfulness scores for each relation (kin, friends and neighbours) were examined to see how well these scores had predicted the actual occurrence of helpfulness with that particular source of help. In this analysis, 16 types of expected helpfulness scores were reduced to match the types of actual helpfulness scores for each given relation (ie categories of helpfulness similar in nature in the expected helpfulness list were grouped so as to reduce to twelve)

Table 32

Comparison of respondents' kin, friends and neighbours in the perception of ease-of-asking help, within the city, town and squatter settlements

	City[a]			Town[b]			Squatter[c]		
	M	σ	N	M	σ	N	M	σ	N
Between kin	27.42	8.6	88	29.42	7.3	67	28.94	6.9	101
Between friends	31.18	12.4	88	31.16	10.07	67	31.28	10.08	101
Between neighbours	21.42	11.3	88	24.67	10.1	67	26.79	10.6	101

[a]
Kin versus friends: $t(174) = -2.35$, $p < .01$
Kin versus neighbours: $t(174) = 3.97$, $p < .01$
Friends versus neighbours: $t(174) = 5.58$, $p < .01$

[b]
Kin versus friends: $t(132) = -1.17$, ns
Kin versus neighbours: $t(132) = 3.16$, $p < .01$
Friends versus neighbours: $t(132) = 4.32$, $p < .01$

[c]
Kin versus friends: $t(200) = -1.93$, $p < .05$
Kin versus neighbours: $t(200) = 1.76$, $p < .05$
Friends versus neighbours: $t(200) = 3.07$, $p < .01$

and then correlations between the two scores were computed: surprisingly, respondents' expectancy of helpfulness from kin or friends did not show significant correlation with what they actually reported to exchange within the last six months with their kin and friends, while between neighbours the expected helpfulness scores were a good predictor of the actual occurrence of neighbour helpfulness (see Table 33).

Table 33

Correlation between the expected helpfulness and the occurrence of helpfulness for kin, friends and neighbours (Pearson partial correlation)

	Actual occurrence of helpfulness		
	Kin	Friends	Neighbours
Expected helpfulness			
Kin	+16		
Friends		+0.13	
Neighbours			0.94*

For each correlation, n = 12

* $p < .01$

Two possible explanations may be suggested for this result. First, the low correlation between the two scores seems to be largely a function of respondents' infrequent need of some areas of assistance, such as needing help for getting a job, needing a large sum of money or needing to be taken care of in the period of illness, etc. It seems obvious that tasks of this nature are not often needed, as much as help

of other kinds, such as taking care of children, doing some household jobs, or discussing a personal matter. This possibly resulted in the low level of exchanged helpfulness with kin and friends. Second, by contrast to the occurrence of helpfulness, the expected helpfulness items presented respondents with hypothetical helping situations in which need for help was present, and resultant ratings (scores), as one would expect, were high. Hence, the low correlation between the two scores for kin and friends seem to reflect the nature of the two types of questions resulting in low predictability power of the expected helpfulness scores for the actual occurrence of helpfulness between each given relation.

Relationship between a particular type of helpfulness and source of help

Seeking help was expected to be directed towards different sources depending on the nature of the helping task. The two principal dimensions along which the helpfulness item were distinguished, degree of cost involved and degree of intimacy required are shown in Table 34[1]. It is important to point out that for this analysis only the expected helpfulness scores are used because, first, the kind of helpfulness items involved in the expected helpfulness were covering a wider range areas of tasks of assistance and, second, the state of the reported actual occurrence of helpfulness, as has just been argued, did not seem to be suitable for the evaluation of the present hypothesis of the relationship between a particular type of helpfulness and a source of help.

In the analysis, taking each helping source separately (kin, friends and neighbours), a correlation was computed between the task

[1] Categorization of 16 types of helpfulness was made in terms of cost and intimacy by the use of the definitions of costly type of help, and help requiring intimacy given earlier (see p 197). For each dimension (cost, intimacy), a four-point scale ranking from high to low was developed, and each of 16 types of assistance was ranked from 4 to 1 accordingly.

Table 34

Source of help for different types of helpfulness

Type of Help	CATEGORIZATION OF HELP		HELPFULNESS SOURCE (MEAN SCORES)			
	Cost	Intimacy	Kin	Friends	Neighbours	N
1. Asking to use the telephone.	Low	Low	3.38	3.55	3.95	256
2. Borrowing small household items.	Low	Low	2.50	2.65	4.29	256
3. Doing some household jobs for you.	Low	Low	3.03	2.43	3.91	256
4. Doing some shopping for you.	Low	Low	3.06	2.76	3.81	256
5. Looking after your children for a couple of hours.	Slight	Low	3.10	3.01	3.77	256
6. Borrowing a small amount of money.	Slight	Low	3.01	3.17	3.70	256
7. Borrowing some personal things.	Slight	High	1.67	3.58	1.42	256
8. Discussing a personal problem.	Slight	High	1.87	3.87	1.69	256
9. Asking for help within a period of sudden sickness for a short time.	Slight	Low	2.10	2.90	3.10	256
10. Asking to take care of, or look after, your children and your home while you are away or sick for a week.	High	High	3.47	3.01	2.48	256
11. Asking some advice about taking a job.	Slight	High	2.20	3.91	1.20	256
12. Borrowing a large amount of money in case of emergency.	High	High	3.48	3.47	0.85	256
13. Asking help for getting a job.	High	High	2.71	3.28	1.67	256
14. Asking to share house in the course of house shortage.	High	High	3.31	2.91	1.03	256
15. Asking to be looked after, if you happened to have a broken leg, or something more or less like that, and so you had to lie down for three months.	High	High	3.45	3.10	1.32	256
16. Asking for any type of support in the time of serious trouble.	High	High	3.78	2.28	1.11	256

rating on a particular dimension (cost, intimacy) and the mean scores of a given help source. These correlations were presented in Table 35 and supported the expectation of the present study that there exists a relationship between the type of help and individuals' preference for a particular source of help.

Table 35

Relationships between characteristics of types of helpfulness and the preferred source of help (Spearman rank correlation)[1]

	Category of relations		
	Kin	Friends	Neighbours
Characteristic			
Cost	+0.48*	+0.29	-0.74**
Intimacy	+0.05	+0.70**	-0.61**

For each correlation, n = 16

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

In line with expectation, kin was favoured for help as the cost of the task increased, while, as the high correlation coefficiencies strongly suggested, neighbours were seen less as a source of help for tasks requiring both cost and intimacy. The preference for friends increased as expected with the task intimacy.

[1] Instead of Spearman rank correlation in the present computation, Kendall's partial rank correlation ideally could have been used. However, this option was abandoned due to the fact that the sampling distribution of Kendall's partial correlation is not known, and therefore no test of significance for the data is possible (see Siegel, 1956).

5.4 Discussion

The present survey study evaluated the urban social behaviour hypothesis by examining differences in kin, friend and neighbour social behaviours among city, town and city squatter residents in Turkey. This study bears on the urban social behaviour hypothesis, in particular on whether the range of its findings are limited to cities in western, developed cultures or can be generalized to other populations and to other cities in developing nations. The present findings based on the sample in Turkey suggest that urban residents and non-urban residents in a developing country are in some respects similar and in others dissimilar in their social behaviour to those living in the West. In the Turkish cities, neighbour social contacts and helpfulness were clearly less frequent than in the town and the city squatter environments. However, inhabitants of these environments differed only slightly in their social behaviour with their friends and did not differ at all in their social behaviour with their kin, while the city squatter residents differed from the non-squatter city residents and invariably ressembled town residents in their pattern of kin, friend and neighbour social behaviours.

The differences in the measures of social behaviour with kin were the weakest. The three samples did not differ in their frequency of social contacts, or in their perception of kin as a source of help, but the city sample actually exchanged slightly less help with their kin (marginally significant) than the remaining two samples; the city squatter and town samples did not differ from each other in any of these three measures.

The measures matching the social contacts with friends showed differences between the three groups on two out of five measures. There were no differences in the number of 'close' friends reported by

respondents, and the frequency of their contacts with these friends as well as in their perception of these friends as a source of help in various areas. But in the case of the city respondents, they had somewhat less intimate social contacts with their friends than had the town and the city squatter residents, while the city squatter residents had more intimate social contacts with their friends than did the town residents. In addition, by contrast with scores on the expected helpfulness from friends, all three samples differed significantly from each other in terms of the frequency with which actual help had been exchanged with friends; the city squatters had the highest frequency followed by the town sample while the city sample showed the lowest frequency.

When we turn to neighbours' social behaviour, the picture obtained was quite different from those observed with kin and friends across the three environments. All measures of neighbour social contact showed significant city/town differences and city/city-squatter differences, but no town/city-squatter differences. The city respondents had less familiarity with their local neighbourhood residents, knew a smaller number of immediate neighbours well, and had less frequent contact with their neighbours than did the town respondents and the city-squatter respondents, who did not differ significantly from the town sample. Similarly, the city respondents exchanged less help and perceived their neighbours less as a source of help than did either those of the town or the city-squatter - who again did not differ significantly from each other in this respect.

The present findings from Turkey on city/town kin, friends and neighbours' social behaviours closely parallelling the pattern of differences reported elsewhere (see the review of literature) give limited support to the urban social behaviour hypothesis of Wirth (1938) and Simmel (1950). According to this hypothesis, the principal characteristics

of the urban environment - size, density and heterogeneity of population - led to a distinctive way of life in which the secondary group versus primary group and multiplication of an individual's roles become important. The behavioural consequences of these changes in the urban society are decline in significance of kin, friend social behaviour as well as decline in the locale community and neighbour relationships characteristic of country life. This hypothesis has been substantiated in the Turkish sample only for neighbours' social behaviour, not for those social behaviours occurring between kin and friends. Thus, the Turkish data support the view that behavioural differences between urban and non-urban environments may, indeed, be a general phenomenon over and above those cultures previously observed. Yet, the Turkish urban environments were not homogeneous in their social behaviours, one segment of the urban population - the city-squatter settlements - showing a different level of social behaviour. Their social behaviour strongly resembled that of the town residents rather than that of the non-squatter city resident. The present findings of an extremely helpful environment within the city environments - the squatter settlements - contradict the empirical findings in the area of research and urban theory. However, this demonstrates the extent to which social behaviour can vary within an urban environment. Discussion of the question why the city-squatter residents were more helpful in their social behaviour will be deferred to a later section. Now let us turn to a more detailed analysis of the observed city/town differences in social behaviour with regard to the question why differences in social behaviour occurred between the two environments, and what specific factors may have led to this outcome.

5.4.1 Neighbours' social behaviour

As briefly mentioned, the city residents were clearly different from both town and city-squatter residents in their neighbourly social behaviour; the city respondents knew a significantly smaller number of neighbours, had fewer social contacts and both exchanged and expected to exchange significantly less helpfulness with their neighbours. These findings offer support both for the empirical evidence and the hypothesis depicting residents as engaging in infrequent neighbour social behaviour and helpfulness.

There are several possible explanations for these results. One line is that of the urban impact hypothesis of Wirth (1938) and Simmel (1950) which lays emphasis on urban personality. According to this hypothesis, differences between urban/non-urban social behaviour exist on account of the underlying general urban trait of anomie, impersonality and distrustfulness which develop as a result of structural differentiation resulting in ceaseless secondary types of contacts (eg contact with strangers) in the urban environment. In turn, this outlook of urban dwellers' dispositions is supposed to influence urban dwellers more intimate types of relationships, eg neighbours. The earlier reported findings of differences between city/town residents' attitudes of distrust, suspiciousness and helpfulness in the present study (see Chapter 4) in line with this hypothesis may be suggested as an explanation for the observed city/town differences in neighbourly relationships. The Turkish city residents hold attitudes of distrust and suspiciousness towards others significantly more than the town residents. It may be suggested that these attitudes and feelings of the city residents have a negative influence on urban residents' formation of neighbourliness. However, it is also clear from the present data that those city residents who had a number of neighbours also did not socialize as much as did their town counterparts. This was possibly again in line with the

hypothesis that urban dwellers with this disposition may be less willing to make the transition from anonymity or a type of neighbourly interaction, guided by particular norms (Reed, 1974) which restrict the range of conversational topics and the locale and the time of chats between neighbours. Hence all these may account for the urban respondents' less neighbourly social behaviour.

Another line of explanation for the present results can be made by reference to the city residents having more alternative sources of social relationships. It seems that the larger the size of local residence (eg city), the more freedom exists for an individual to choose his friends and acquaintances from within or without the neighbourhood (Fisher, 1976), making the locality a 'community of limited liability' (Janowitz, 1967). Individuals can choose to be locally anonymous and yet have friends or acquaintances outside the immediate neighbourhood. By contrast, in non-urban environments (village or town), individuals often lack these alternatives. Thus, one knows one's neighbours, and neighbours often are friends, beyond the individual's choosing. As Keller (1968, p 48) put it, 'in the city this type of neighbour ... is mandatary no longer'. Probably the present result of the city residents' infrequent neighbourly social behaviour was a simple reflection of this situation in the city. In fact, the present findings that the city respondents have relatively more friends, their friends are geographically dispersed in the city, and these friends provide a wide range of assistance, seems to support this interpretation that in the city, unlike in the town, an individual has alternative sources of relationships available, and the local neighbourhood is not necessarily the only source of social realtionships.

Finally, a tentative explanation for these results might be suggested in terms of general environmental characteristics of the urban neighbourhood. The city environments exemplified by such housing

developments as high-rise public housing are reducing 'functional distance' (eg, bringing residents into physical contact) and thus are not conducive to the development of intimate social relations amongst residents (Alexander, 1968; Newman, 1973; see Chapter 1 for detailed arguments). Also, adding to this, a high level of dissimilarity among urban residents in terms of background (Young and Willmott, 1962; Hartman, 1963) may prevent the development of neighbourly relationships. Indeed, in the present study the city environments where the data was collected (eg Beyazit, Karakoy, Goztepe, Kadikoy in Istanbul, and Kizilay, Maltepe in Ankara) were mostly characterized by apartment housing where residents of these environments were fairly mixed in terms of their socio-economic status. Thus, these characteristics of city environments might be suggested as one other explanation why the city residents had lower neighbourly social behaviour.

Altogether, then, any one of the above explanations or a combination of these may account for the present observed city/town differences in neighbourly social behaviour, although none of these was evaluated directly by the present study. At any rate, this study clearly demonstrated that the city residents were significantly lower in their neighbourly social behaviour than the town and city squatter residents. Hence, this finding in Turkey in general supports the urban social behaviour hypothesis for neighbour social behaviour.

Independent of urban/non-urban dimension as predicted, respondents' length of residency showed a significant strong effect on all neighbourly social behaviours examined. Those residents who were long-time occupants had more familiarity with local people, knew immediate neighbours well and had more frequent social contacts with their neighbours. This is consistent with Kasarda and Janowitz's (1974) findings that a long-time residency provides residents with opportunities to share common experiences in the local neighbourhood and, in turn, this common

experience may lead to the development of intimate social relationships among residents.

An additional explanation for the city residents' lesser degree of neighbourliness could be made with regard to their relatively shorter length of residency (when the three samples were examined in terms of their length of residency, the city residents had a significantly lower length of residency than both town and city squatter residents, while the latter two samples did not differ from one another in this respect (see Table 1(f)). Thus, it appears that the city residents' level of neighbourly social behaviour may have been also influenced by their relatively low length of residency. Nevertheless, as already seen, even when the length of residency was controlled, there were still strong significant influences of the locale variable indicating the effect of the city per se on neighbours' social behaviour.

5.4.2 Friends' social behaviour

The present sample of city residents did not differ significantly from their counterparts living in towns on the majority of measures of friends' social behaviour studied. They had many close friends as did the town and the city squatter residents; the degree of social contacts and helpfulness in various areas equalled what was observed among both the town and the squatter residents. These results from Turkey support the earlier findings of Reiss (1959), Key (1968), Sutcliffe and Crabbe (1963) and Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) from elsewhere in the Western world.

However, in some areas of friends' social behaviour, the city residents, consistent with the above-mentioned earlier studies, did differ from both town and city squatter residents. First of all, the city residents had friends who were drawn from relatively larger social pools, and they were geographically dispersed. For example, in the case

of a relatively large proportion of the city residents' friends were work associates (45.8%) as compared with the town residents (17.5%) and the squatter residents (6.1%). Contrary to this friendship pattern of the city residents, the town and city-squatter residents' friendships were more locally-based. The city squatter residents had a higher proportion of friends living within their local neighbourhood (76.8%), followed by the town residents (61.4%), while the proportion of the city residents' local-based friends was only 36.2% (see Table 9).

This finding, as suggested in the discussion of neighbourly social behaviour, can be exaplined with the notion that increase in community size affects the degree of one's choice in friendship. Unlike the town, in the city the immediate neighbourhood may not be a satisfying source of intimacy as seen in the present results. This is due to the fact, as suggested by Fisher (1976), that urbanization gives rise to a variety of social worlds constructed on the kind of association not found in non-urban places. In the present results from the Turkish city residents having friends drawn from a variety of social pools seem to reflect this phenomenon in the city.

Consistent with differences in the origin of friendship, the city respondents also differed in their intimacy of social contacts with their friends or, in other words, the way they interacted with their friends. The city residents more often contacted their friends by telephone (20.5%) or at their place of work (22.0%) versus neighbourhood meeting place (12.0%) than did town respondents (by telephone 10.7% or at place of work 23.2% versus local meeting place 42.8%) and city-squatter residents (by telephone 1.0%, at place of work 6.1%, versus local meeting place 81.0%), while as demonstrated the city squatters also differed from their town counterparts in the pattern of social contacts, ie they contacted their friends mostly in a local place. These two measures of friendships (both in the origin of friendship and the pattern of friends'

social contacts) suggest some influence of city living on friendship pattern. However, these observed differences, contrary to the urban hypothesis' claim of impersonal and superficial urban friendship (Wirth, 1938), seem to reveal differences between urban/non-urban environments in terms of their scale and facilities and their opportunities for social relationships, and the city residents' adapting to this situation, as the data on urban friendship demonstrated.

One further dimension of social behaviour examined by the present study was helpfulness: (1) the actual occurrence of helpfulness within the last six months, and (2) the perceived helpfulness between friends. Although three environments studied did not show any significant difference in terms of the perception of their friends as a source of help in various areas of assistance, the actual occurrence of helpfulness between friends reported by the city respondents was significantly less than that of both the town and the city-squatter residents, while town and city-squatter residents did not differ from each other in this respect.

These two results are quite contradictory: the city respondents perceived their friends to be persons from whom they could ask any type of help as much as did their town and city-squatter counterparts. Yet, they reported less incidence of the occurrence of helpfulness. Two possible explanations may be considered for this discrepancy. First, if one considers the city respondents' equivalency to the town respondents in friendship (such as the fact that they had as many close friends and contacted them as frequently as the town respondents), then it may be possible to relate their relatively lower level of actual help exchange with friends to the simple fact that there happened to arise relatively less need of assistance within this given period of time than what was observed with the town and the squatter residents. Otherwise, as the city residents stated, they would exchange assistance

with their friends as much as both their town and city-squatter counterparts.

A second possibility may be that the friends' expected helpfulness score was a simple product of a social desirability factor from which usually all self-report studies seem to suffer (Selltilz, Wrightsman and Cook, 1976). In the present case the argument is this: probably respondents were reluctant to admit that they would have difficulty in asking help from their friends and for this reason they might have answered 'no difficulty'. If this is so, then one should take the occurrence of helpfulness scores as a real measure of friends' helpfulness. However, whatever the explanation for this discrepancy, it seems unlikely that these results would be able to add any substantial support to the urban social behaviour hypothesis (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1950) of extreme characterization of impersonal, superficial and utilitarian urban friendship. Taken together, the findings from Turkey do not substantiate the urban hypothesis for friends' social behaviour. However, what appears to be the case is that city living exerts some influence on friendship through offering larger choice for friendship, hence this accounts for the city residents' friends being geographically dispersed. In turn, the geographical distance between friends was the factor that influenced the occurrence of friends' social behaviour (social contacts and helpfulness) in the city; however, when this factor was controlled there was little or no influence of the city itself on friendship.

Independent of city/town dimension, the length of residency, as in the case of neighbour social behaviour, again appeared to be an influential variable on urban friendship. This was also noted by the study of Kasadra and Janowitz (1974). Those respondents who were long-time residents making their friends from the local neighbourhood had frequent social contacts and exchanged more helpfulness with their friends. This effect, consistent with that of neighbour social

behaviour (see p 258), indicates the importance of length of residency in providing opportunities of common experiences, then the development of intimate friendship among residents.

5.4.3 Kin social behaviour

In the present study, the Turkish city sample studied did not differ from the town and the city-squatter samples in several measures of kin social behaviours. However, consistent with earlier findings elsewhere (Reiss, 1959; Key, 1968; Bultena, 1969; Koyama, 1970; Kasadra and Janowitz, 1974), one dimension of kinship showed differences across city/town environments; that is, the city respondents' kin were geographically dispersed. As is the case with other social behaviour, this is likely to be a result of the length of residency[1]. This factor (the geographical distance between kin) significantly affected kin social behaviour. Yet, when geographical distance between kin was controlled there was no influence of the city itself on the residents' frequency of social contacts, occurrence of helpfulness with their kin, as well as their perception of kin as a source of help in various areas of task.

Altogether, the findings from Turkey strongly suggest that, as observed in urban friendship, there is no effect of urban living itself on kin social behaviour, except insofar as it increases the geographical dispersion of kin which somewhat lessens social contacts and helpfulness between kin.

Several personal characteristics of respondents examined in the present study were found to influence some aspects of the social behaviour occurring between kin, friends and neighbours irrespective of

[1] Table 2 indicates that the length of residency has an independent effect on kin geographical distance, considering the low length of residency of the city respondents (see Table 1(f)); the above effect of the length of residency on kin's geographical dispersion could be warranted to a certain degree.

environments they live in. These were respondents' sex, age, stage in life, socio-economic status and finally respondents' origin. First, female respondents tended to have more frequent and intimate social contacts and exchanged more helpfulness with their friends. Similarly, female respondents had more intimate social contacts and helpfulness between their neighbours, while male respondents were more familiar with people in the local neighbourhood than were female respondents. The latter finding points to a cultural norm relating to females. Such a norm dictates the seclusion of women from public life, hence females' lesser familiarity with the locale as opposed to that of males (see Chapter 4, p 174, for the similar finding).

Respondents' age correlated negatively with several measures of friendship (ie intimacy and helpfulness). Consistent with Kasadra and Janowitz's (1974) finding, these results seem to indicate to some extent a decline in social behaviour that may occur through advanced age. However, this effect was not evident in social behaviour occurring between kin and neighbours.

Respondents' stage of life showed an influence on kin and neighbourly social behaviours. Unmarried respondents tended to exchange more helpfulness with their kin, while they had fewer contacts and less helpfulness with their neighbours as expected.

Respondents' socio-economic status also influenced some aspects of social behaviour. The higher socio-economic status individuals had more spatially dispersed friends and exchanged less helpfulness with them and this result is consistent with the earlier findings of Young and Willmott (1962), Gans (1962) and Kasadra and Janowitz (1974). Yet, respondents' socio-economic status did not influence kin and neighbourly social behaviours.

Finally, respondents' origin was found to exert certain influences on social behaviour. Those respondents who had as their origin a place

of residence other than their present one had their kin living further away from them, and tended to have more friends living in close vicinity (ie the local neighbourhood), and they had a higher level of intimate social contacts and helpfulness with their friends. This finding in Turkey is consistent with Usui, Lei and Butler (1977) who found greater social contacts amongst individuals who had their origin in other than the present place of residence (eg rural). Also, Usui et al have found that migrants who had no local relatives visited their friends far more than those who had their relatives living nearby in the locale. The present observed behavioural pattern amongst those who have other places of origin, in line with Usui et al's results (1977), may appear to suggest that friends of these respondents may be substituting their kin who were not living in the close vicinity. An alternative argument for this result can be found in the urban impact theory of Wirth (1938). According to this, an environment (city or town) exerts its influence on an individual's behaviour in a way that is likely to persist even when the individual is no longer living in that environment. If the present respondents with other place of origin are assumed to be migrants of town or village along with the fact that the general movement of population is in the direction of the city (this is especially true in the case of the squatters), then their behaviour of a high level of socializing with friends, in line with this hypothesis, may be viewed to reflect their earlier acquired behavioural pattern of town and village environment. This follows an argument that an individual's background determines the social behaviour rather than does the present environment. However, this argument should be considered purely as speculation since the present data does not allow a firm conclusion.

5.4.4 The city-squatter settlements

As earlier briefly mentioned, the city squatter residents, significantly differing from their non-squatter city count rparts in all measures of social behaviours examined, resembled those residents living in non-urban environments. It is clear from this result that factors responsible for the observed lower level of social behaviour (ie between neighbours and some measures of friendship) among Turkish city residents do not exert their influence in the city squatter environments. This behavioural outcome of the squatter residents clearly demonstrates the extent to which social behaviour can vary within an environment. In the present study, the city/town differences in social behaviour examined were strong; the city/city-squatter differences were even greater. This observed social behaviour of the city squatters, especially their failure to show a decline relative to the town residents in their neighbourhood and some measures of friends' social behaviours presents us with the challenge of several possible explanations.

First, according to the 'urban village thesis', all forms of social behaviour are enhanced in the neighbourhood where residents are long-time residents, quite familiar with each other, and share a common cultural background (eg rural ethnic). It is easily conceivable how these circumstances could lead to the development of social involvement between squatter residents, and there are findings to show the relationship between some of these features, eg between similarities in terms of background and friendship (Gans, 1967; Newcombe, 1961), and between length of residency, friendship and neighbourliness as revealed by the present study (see the discussions held in the earlier sections), as well as by Kasarda and Janowitz (1974). In the Turkish city-squatter settlements, a key feature of residents lies in the fact of their being long-time residents, cohesive and homogeneous. Most of the squatters are migrants or the offspring of migrants from the villages or farming

areas of rural Turkey. They have a single Moslem ethnic identity and reflect traditional Islamic norms and values which are quite strong in rural Turkey (Yasa, 1966; Karpat, 1976). Hence, the squatters' social characteristics are likely to explain why the level of social behaviour was high in the city-squatter settlement as compared to that of their regular urbanites.

An additional cultural characteristic of these rural migrants to the city should also be mentioned to account for the present finding of their high level of friends' and neighbours' social contacts and helpfulness. There is a highly emphasized concept of townsmanship or countrymenship (in Turkish Hemserilik) among squatters. This concept of townsmanship indicates the sentimental bonds between a group of people based on a common geographical origin, mainly rural, and the common status of living away from their home land (Turkdogan, 1977). The value of this relationship can be viewed as almost that of kinship. A townsman expects, or is expected to treat a fellow townsman in the same way as he/she has relations with his own kin; this involves mutual expectations and obligations between townsmen in almost any aspect of daily life, eg any types of assistance in the time of need (Dubsky, 1976; Tezcan, 1974; Erdentug, 1977). The high level of help and sociability between townsmen manifests itself clearly in such a place as where they are away from their home land and where the feeling of solidarity of these people is heightened by the presence of non-townsmen, eg in the city. Thus, altogether these cultural characteristics of the squatter residents seem to account for the obtained high level of neighbours' and friends' social behaviour amongst the squatter residents.

It is also possible to interpret the results by reference to the squatters' identification with their settlements in the city. The squatters' socio-economic circumstances are impoverished and their mostly illegal residential status in the squatter settlements put them

in frequent conflict with the political and bureaucratic agencies of Istanbul and Ankara (Karpat, 1976; Tekkeli, 1971). Hence the situation is likely to generate cohesion and a sense of territoriality and local responsibility among the squatter residents which possibly explains the greater friendship and neighbourliness.

Finally, this result may be explained in a more simple manner with the use of the squatters' impoverished economic circumstances. It may be that helpfulness increases in a neighbourhood as a function of low economic circumstances. When the economic situation is low such as in the squatter settlements there may be greater needs for help among residents. Hence, this may lead to the residents' interdependence on each other in terms of helpfulness; relying upon neighbours and friends as well as kin for help. The present observed greater level of friends' and neighbourly helpfulness among the squatter residents may also be seen to reflect this circumstance.

In sum, then, as already seen, there exist several possible explanations, one or both of which may account for the results obtained in this study, yet none of which can be directly tested in this study. In any event, the present study has further supported the urban villager thesis by demonstrating that the social behaviour of the city-squatter residents does resemble that of their town counterparts rather than that of their fellow city residents. Secondly, this finding disconfirms the urban social behaviour hypothesis (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1950) by demonstrating that the city squatters have not adapted their behaviour towards patterns comprising the urban residents.

5.4.5 Relationship between helpfulness and source of help

The theoretical interest of the present study has been that the nature of task involved in a helping act would affect an individual's preference for a particular source of help. This has been, in general, substantiated.

However, when the association between types of helpfulness and source of help was examined, the preference for a particular helper was found to vary with the degree of cost involved in a particular helpful act, and the intimacy required. In the case of tasks involving great cost, help was sought more from kin (eg asking to be taken care of in the time of a long illness) and less so from neighbours. For example, neighbours were helpers only in tasks low in cost such as borrowing small household items, doing shopping, etc. In the case of tasks involving more intimacy, help was sought increasingly from friends (eg discussing personal problems or borrowing a personal belonging, etc) and decreasingly from neighbours.

These findings are significant in that they clearly show the nature of these three relationships in question. For example, in general, neighbourly social relationship is based solely on proximity and does not require shared perspective between two parties; thus a helping act is limited by this nature, resulting in preference for neighbours for tasks both low in cost and intimacy. By contrast, friendship involves the feeling of mutual responsibility and a great deal of shared perspective: hence, in the present case, respondents sought friends' assistance for tasks of a more intimate nature. Kin relationships, unlike the other two, are defined by natural legal ties and, as expected, kin were helpers for tasks involving high cost.

Several personal characteristics of respondents showed association with the source of a helper. In line with expectation, female respondents married with children and long-time residents, tended to see their

neighbours more as a source of help, while also respondents' socio-economic status (eg respondents who were lower in socio-economic status) associated with the preference for neighbours as a helper (see Table 29). None of the other personal characteristics influenced the preference for kin as a helper (see Table 6), except for respondents' stage in life (unmarried respondents showed preference for their kin as a helper). The preference for friends was significantly influenced by respondents' origin (eg respondents who had their origin in a place other than their present place of residence). Additionally, increasing age of respondents was associated with decreasing preference for friends as helpers (see Table 18).

CHAPTER 6

GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The present thesis was concerned with two basic research questions: a) whether the nature of social behaviour differs between various types of urban environments and b) whether one aspect of urban environments, the environmental input level, influences social behaviour in Turkey - a setting different from those previously used.

Research reported throughout this thesis has implications for the understanding of both behavioural and psychological consequences of change of human habitat - which is one of the major phenomena of this century - and for the theoretical conceptualization of urban/social behaviour relationships. As reviewed in Chapter 1, there are two major theories of urbanization and its consequences for behaviour; the determinist and the socio-cultural theories. The determinist theory conceptualizes urban environment in terms of several environmental factors such as size, density and heterogeneity of population that have consequences for the behaviour, thought and experience of urban dwellers. The socio- cultural theory on the other hand, considers such environmental factors to have a negligible influence on social behaviour. Rather it understands urbanization in terms of shifts in technology, economic alternatives and role differentiation, and it suggests that any behavioural differences can be explained in terms of such influential social variables as economic status, stages in the life cycle and ethnicity which may be found in one setting rather than another, rather than by variations in size, density and heterogeneity of environment.

In the following sections the findings on each research question

pursued will be summarised and their significance for the urban theories considered.

URBAN/NON-URBAN DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

The major aim of the present research has been to evaluate the generality of urban social behaviour findings in a different cultural setting - in Turkey. For this, four types of social behaviour were studied, and the results suggest that, overall, the urban environment influences social behaviour depending on the type of relationship involved, ie whether it occurs between strangers or between neighbours or between friends and kin. First the data from Turkey substantially supported the hypothesis that urban environment influences some dispositions to, and social behaviours occurring between, strangers. Urban residents held less trusting and helping attitudes and were significantly less helpful towards strangers requiring assistance in various contexts than non-urban residents. Second, the social relationship occurring between neighbours was also found to be influenced by an urban environment. Urban residents knew a small number of neighbours, had less frequent social contacts with them and were less helpful than their non-urban counter- parts. The degree of social behaviour occurring between kin and friends, on the other hand, did not differ between the two environments. However, there were some differences between the city and town dwellers' patterns of friendship and kin. For example, as compared with town residents, city residents' friends were drawn from a relatively larger social pool and were geographically

dispersed as opposed to living in the local neighbourhood. Similarly, kin members in the city were found to be geographically dispersed. Yet, these situations did not weaken the social behaviour of both friends and kin in relation to what was observed in non-urban environments. These are major findings as they are the first confirmation of urban/social behaviour relationships in a developing nation. These results indicate that the urban/social behaviour relationship may indeed be a general phenomenon, extending to cultures where some argued (Hauser, 1965) that such an extension is less likely to occur.

The finding that urban/non-urban differences in social behaviour are limited only to certain aspects of social behaviour (ie those occurring between strangers and neighbours but not those between kin and friends), besides informing us about the nature of urban living and social behaviour, offers a perspective for evaluating the impact model suggested by urban theories (Wirth 1938; Simmel, 1950; Milgram, 1970). In the realm of these four types of social relationships, relations with kin and friends would be regarded as central and of considerably greater importance than relations with neighbours and strangers. What appears to be the case from the evidence is that urban living only influences the character of social relationships of a less familiar and intimate nature. This could suggest that the nature of these social relationships is much more vulnerable or susceptible to environmental effects. Examining the nature of these four types of inter-personal relationships, (those occurring between strangers, neighbours, friends and kin), this may be seen much more clearly. Social behaviour between

strangers and neighbours is determined by other factors than the ones which determine friends and kin relationships. For example, relations with strangers are usually in public places, between individuals who have no prior ties with one another (Lofland, 1973), the neighbour relationship is defined merely by proximity (Festinger et al, 1950; Kuper, 1963; White, 1950; see Chapter 1), and in addition neighbours are usually regarded as persons with no special claims to one's time and energy (Keller, 1968). By contrast, a relationship with kin or a friend can be considered to be more central to an individual and determined by other factors, that is to say by values, attitudes, shared perspectives and other personal characteristics (for empirical evidence for this argument, see Chapter 5). Given these facts about the properties of the social behaviours in question, social relationships between strangers and neighbours would appear to be more vulnerable and determined by environmental factors than the relationship with friends and kin. Probably, then, city living may not alter people as much as it alters the situations within which people cooperate, and accordingly city life will influence behaviour only when these behaviours are of a more situationally dependent kind, such as is the case in social behaviours occurring between strangers and neighbours. What follows from this is that observed behavioural differences between the urban and non-urban settings may be a function of situational pressures in different environments. This then, supports one aspect of the analysis of the urban theories which explain the social effects of cities only for behaviour occurring between strangers and neighbours (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1950; Milgram, 1970) and

mostly through environmental and situational variables. This conclusion of urban impact would seem to be at variance with the previously reported finding of dispositional differences between urban and non/urban dwellers; that is the notion that urban residents hold attitudes of unhelpfulness and distrustfulness significantly more than town residents (see Chapter 4). But, looking closely at the evidence from four types of social relationships we can see that these attitudes of distrustfulness and helpfulness held by urban dwellers are limited to the context of stranger relationships. Urban theories (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1950) make social contact occurring between strangers a focal point as a determinant for the character of social behaviour occurring within the primary group (ie kin, friends and neighbours) in the city. Intense social contacts with strangers in urban life force urban residents to be reserved, superficial, distrustful and, in turn, this outlook of urban dwellers is supposed to influence the character of their primary group relationships. The present evidence reveals that this is not the case; the characteristics of stranger relationships do not extend to kin and friends' social relationships, but can apply to social behaviour between neighbours (urban dwellers knew a small number of neighbours and even with the existing ones they socialise significantly less). Thus this evidence strengthens the conclusion that the urban environment influences only social behaviour of a situationally dependent kind (eg strangers and neighbours) and some related dispositions of these social behaviours, furthermore this seems to occur without profound and across the board adjustments of attitudes and values of urban

dwellers. Further data collected for the examination of the urban/social behaviour relationship across various types of environments within the city reveal more precisely the nature of urban social behaviour in Turkey.

SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS WITHIN THE CITY: THE URBAN VILLAGE PHENOMENON.

As has just been seen, Turkish cities overall differ in behavioural characteristics from Turkish towns, yet the data from various environments within the city point to the existence of local environments which differ considerably in their social behaviour. Most interesting in this regard are the squatter settlements of Turkish cities (Istanbul and Ankara) whose residents showed attitudes and a level of social behaviour equal to that found in Turkish towns and significantly greater than that found in the rest of Istanbul and Ankara. The city squatter residents were significantly more helpful toward strangers needing assistance in various contexts, they knew significantly more of their neighbours and socialized and exchanged help significantly more often with them than their non-squatter city counterparts did. In the case of kin and friends relationships, although the squatter residents did not differ significantly from their non-squatter counterparts in the degree of social behaviour (ie the frequency of social contacts and helpfulness), they showed a somewhat different social pattern of kin and friendship. For example, the squatters' kin lived nearby (ie in the squatter settlement) and friends were drawn from the same locale. In this

aspect they resembled town inhabitants. Whatever is responsible for the observed lower level of pro-social behaviour rates and attitudes of helpfulness in other parts of Turkish cities, it does not exert its influence on the squatters. Although the squatters were urban residents, their behavioural characteristics classify them as non-urban. First of all, the attitudinal and behavioural equivalence between the town and squatter residents supports the analysis of Abu-Loughood (1961) and Gans (1962) who argue for the persistence of 'urban villages' in large metropolitan areas whose residents have not adapted their behaviour towards patterns that comprise the urban stereotype - distrustful - impersonal and unhelpful - contrary to what was predicted by the determinist theory (Wirth, 1938) which sees the adaptation of these urban traits by urban residents as unavoidable consequences of city living. These results appear to be unique in that they empirically verify significant within - city variations in a number of different kinds of helpfulness. It is worth noting in this regard that the differences in helpfulness between different districts within the city exceeded those obtained in the overall urban/non-urban comparison. Of course, this confirmation of the existence of particularly helpful urban districts, or 'urban villages', was obtained in two cities which differ from those of Western Europe and North America. As was mentioned earlier, the failure of other studies to show such an effect may reflect the possibility that 'real' urban villages, ie those with expected non-urban social and behavioural patterns, may only exist presently in the fast growing cities of the developing world, such as Istanbul and

Ankara. Note that the urban village phenomenon, except those types depicted by Gans(1962), Jacobs(1961), and Young and Willmott (1962) may not apply to ghettoes or slums in western industrial cities. By contrast, slums are characterized as sources of disintegration, disorganization and crime etc (Karpat,1976). This point will be discussed further in a later section of this chapter.

As discussed at length in both Chapters 4 and 5, an explanation of what factors might account for the high level of helpfulness in the city squatter settlements may be made along the line of the urban village thesis. According to this all forms of helpfulness are enhanced within the neighbourhoods where the residents are long-term ones, familiar with each other, and share a common rural and ethnic background. The Turkish city squatter settlements are composed of long-term residents who migrated from small rural towns and villages, and they established a social organization and a way of life in the squatter settlements which is prevalent in rural Turkey. The observed various types of helpfulness are likely to be a reflection of this social pattern of the settlement culture - traditional, Islamic and rural - stressing the importance of generosity and responsibility towards other people (Karpat, 1976; Suzuki, 1964; Yasa, 1966). Also their low income status, and the strong identification with a territorial area, may be other important factors encouraging local patterns of mutual aid (between kin, friends and neighbours) which then may be extended to strangers who need assistance (see p.169 in Chapter 4 and p.191 in Chapter 5 for more detailed argument on these points).

To summarize, there are several possible explanations for these results but none of them can be directly evaluated within the present study. Nevertheless the present results provide a valuable empirical demonstration that the city squatter residents do resemble behaviourally their small town counterparts rather than their fellow urbanites. This supports the urban village thesis, and possibly demonstrates the mediating role played by culture in the link between helpfulness and urbanization phenomena. Furthermore, this phenomenon of the urban village within the Turkish cities challenges Wirth's (1938) claim that pervasive social isolation and withdrawal are inevitable consequences of city living. In short, the results of the present study clearly suggest that the Turkish squatters are spared the decline in key social characteristics - high level of neighbourly social relationships and helpfulness, and helpfulness shown towards strangers- which, as demonstrated by the present study, occurs in other city environments in Turkey .

The present finding concerning the city squatter settlements may have great practical value if we can find the key to the exceptional helpfulness of city squatters. In the present case, perhaps the most important significance of the squatters is the demonstration that some of the consequences of city living, demonstrated in the present, and the earlier studies as negative ones, can be neutralized. It is possible that with fuller understanding of the precise nature of such neutralization we may be able to derive applications that will have a practical benefit in efforts at community development in urban neighbourhoods where mutual aid within the neighbourhood, as well as help to strangers

is considerably lower, such as was the case in the present non-squatter city neighbourhoods. For example in such an application the key point,according to several accounts (Jacobs,1961; Newman,1973) lies in a strengthening of local networks of ties which may further various types of helpfulness in these city neighbourhoods. These are questions guiding research which the present author is planning to pursue in both city squatter settlements and urban neighbourhoods.

VARIATION OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR IN OTHER TYPES OF INTRA-CITY LOCALES.

Further evidence of intra-city differences in pro-social behaviour (helpfulness) involving strangers was found in the comparison of different non-squatter districts of Turkish cities. These differences, although not extremely strong, were consistent. The rank order of districts in terms of helpfulness did correspond with the order in terms of urbanization: in particular there is an association between higher urbanization and lower helpfulness. The major exceptions were the suburbs, where the lowest level of helpfulness was obtained, even though these were the least urbanized city districts. The other interesting finding was that city district 3 equalled in its level of helpfulness that observed in towns. Taken together (including the city squatter settlements just discussed), these observations of differing levels of social behaviour in environments within the city reinforce the conclusion that the

city environments are not homogeneous in terms of social behaviour and, more importantly, the behavioural characteristics of environments within the city inform us of the complex interplay between a multitude of influential factors. It is clear that level of urbanization alone is not the explanation of social behaviour as observed in the findings from squatter settlements and suburbs in Turkey.

This finding that the city environment contains a variety of local environments which exhibit varying behavioural characteristics has implications for both urban theories and research in the area. First, it points out the limitation of a conceptualization of environments within a framework of an urban/non-urban dichotomy in social behaviour. Urban theories and the previous researches have conceived the city as a fairly homogeneous entity with behavioural characteristics that may be distinctly different from those found in towns. In the light of the data reported in this thesis this view can now be seen to be limited. The present observed behavioural variations across environments call to mind urban theories (Park, Burgess and McKenzie, 1925; Greer, 1956) which define urbanization according to dimensions describing an environment's physical and social characteristics that form a continuum rather than a dichotomy. The Turkish data strongly suggests that drawing a distinction between environments in terms of social behaviour can be best done with the concept of such a social environmental continuum rather than an urban/non-urban dichotomy. The different environments studied, when they are defined in terms of characteristic social behaviour of their residents, tend to form

a continuum. In such a continuum of social behaviour, the behaviour in a partícular environment is likely to be a reflection of both the physical and social characteristics of that environment. For example, it seems likely that the helpfulness of squatters is not simply predictable from knowing the characteristics of the physical environment they inhabit but that it also reflects their attitudes, norms and social organization of the settlement. The shortcoming of the urbanization explanation for the obtained level of helpfulness in suburban districts within the city may well lead us to assume that this might be the case. However, caution needs to be exercised because data concerning the relevant personal and cultural characteristics of subjects from city districts are not available in the present study. What is available is the stereotypes of native city residents on these city districts (see p. 123 in chapter 4). However, these are not necessarily adequate data for the explanation of the present findings. Hence, a future study should investigate objectively the social and personal characteristics of environments. For example, besides studying environmental features (ie level of urbanization, the input level) one should also collect actual data on socio-cultural characteristics of environments and their inhabitants. This might include carrying out a survey study of residents' social characteristics, values and norms.

The observation that variation in social behaviour across the environments studied cannot be explained only in terms of their physical characteristics but must also involve explanation in terms of social characteristics of these environments seems to

offer a basis for a speculation. This would be in line with much evidence from environment-behaviour researches and theoretical models of environment · behaviour. The evidence on behaviour within the context of the environment (eg Lynch, 1960; Down and Stea, 1973; cognitive mapping, Glass and Singer, 1972; Sherrod, 1974; the effect of environmental stressors, Craik, 1971, 1976; environmental assessment and preference studies, Stokols, 1972 and 1976; effect of crowding; see Chapter 1 for the review of some of these studies) demonstrates that behaviour is not a simple reaction to environmental factors; several psychological processes mediate between physical environment and behaviour. The theoretical models which explain these findings (eg Proshansky, 1976; Altman, 1975; Stokols, 1972, 1976, 1978; Holahan, 1978) perceive an individual as an active agent confronting and challenging the environment. Therefore the model emphasizes the need to examine the range of psychological processes that mediate between the physical environment and behaviour. According to this model, an optimum level is established between environment and behaviour. This state is called by Stokols (1978) ´Human environment optimization´ and by Holahan (1978) an ´assimilation phenomenon´, both of which refer to environmental users adaptively weaving the surroundings of the physical context into the fabric of social life. However, it is important to point out that this phenomenon occurs in a way which is congruent with the individual´s needs, experiences and skills. In the present data we see the squatter dwellers as non-urban in terms of characteristics of their social behaviour, although they are urban residents in that their environments are noisy, very

busy and crowded. By looking at such physical characteristics of the squatter environments it was unlikely that one could predict the observed social behaviours. The correct prediction would have been more likely from the social characteristics of the squatter settlements and from attitudes and values of squatters. This observation, in line with the model described above, of the relationship between environment and behaviour, might be interpreted as suggesting the existence of a state of congruity between environment and social behaviour there. This may be established in a unique way consistent with the squatters' cultural needs and experiences. In a similar way, within the rest of the environments studied, the social behaviour and environment relationship could be evaluated in terms of this framework. For example, the level of social behaviour obtained in suburbs seems also to be unique in this respect: suburban residents showed the lowest level of social behaviour, although their environment in terms of the level of urbanization was very low, quite sedate and residential.

Considering the question as a whole, the following conclusion is warranted: overall, urban environment influences only certain kinds of social behaviour that are more situationally dependent and vulnerable to environmental effect such as those involving strangers and neighbours. Yet, the urban environment does not affect these social behaviours in a homogeneous way, but it appears that social characteristics in environments and residents (as was the case in the city squatter settlements), mediate this effect. This then, suggests that the relationship between social behaviour and urbanization should be

conceptualized within dimensions describing the physical and social characteristics of environments instead of a simple urban/non-urban dichotomy. This conceptualization seems to be consistent with the environment behaviour model which does not see social behaviour only as a simple product of physical environment, but as a result of both physical and social environments, or interaction of both.

In summary, the determinist theory suggests an impact model that contains a one way relationship: individual's feelings, thoughts, and behaviour in urban environment are influenced by ecological variables such as size, density and heterogeneity. The Turkish data clearly demonstrates that this model is simplistic and furthermore inadequate as an explanation for the pattern of urban/social behaviour relationships obtained. However, the socio-cultural theory which sees social variables as influential cannot be fully evaluated by the present study, as direct data on socio-cultural variables in the relevant environments is not available. However, as thus far discussed, there is a clear indication that socio-cultural variables influence and mediate the impact of urbanization, as documented by the case of the squatter settlements.

ENVIRONMENTAL INPUT LEVEL AS AN EXPLANATION OF HELPFULNESS.

The second research aim of the study was to single out certain features that exist in extreme form in the city, and examine whether they are responsible for the lower level of helpfulness in the city.

As has already been suggested, a number of explanations could account for the variation in social behaviour occurring between different sections of the urban environment, and between cities and towns studied in the present research project. One of the explanations concerning the lower level of urban helpfulness occurring between strangers is suggested by Milgram (1970); the environmental input level. While the current thesis was primarily concerned with clarifying various types of differences in pro-social behaviour identifiable across different environments, it also examined Milgram's explanation for urban unhelpfulness occurring between strangers. According to this explanation, the level of helpfulness towards a stranger is influenced by the level of environmental bombardment in the city, comprising sights, sounds, demands and novel events that impinge on urbanites. According to Milgram, as a consequence of high inputs in the city, a person is forced to develop a series of adaptive economizing responses in order to cope with the excessive demands of the environment. Hence the urbanites' adaptation is reflected in his inattentiveness to environmental events, his unresponsiveness to various requests and demands, and this follows the gradual development of urban norms of behaviour (ie norms of non-responsibility or non-involvement). Thus, according to this hypothesis, an individual undergoing high environmental input will be less attentive or less responsive to others or to the needs of another person who has no personal claim on his time or obligation (ie a stranger). However, as already discussed at length in Chapter 4, there are two ways (though inter-related) by which the level of environmental inputs

can affect the occurrence of helpfulness and other types of social behaviour between strangers. The urban dweller's adaptation to input overload may be long term and/or it may be situational (short term). A long term adaptation would be indicated by an invariant level of helpfulness which reflects the general level of inputs in some environment but is not determined by situational or temporal variation in input level. Such an adaptation involves the emergence of behavioural norms and a certain mode of responding (eg unhelpfulness) as a means of coping with everyday events that will develop over time as a response to the degree of stressfulness of the general environment. Alternatively, the urbanite may show adaptation to the input level of the immediate situation, becoming more or less responsive to environmental events as the input level decreases or increases. This variation in responsiveness, as research on the input overload suggests (Cohen, 1978), could be mediated by several phenomena such as lowered attentiveness or awareness, mental fatigue or decisional processes. Hence, an individual undergoing a high input level may be less attentive to environmental events or cues indicating the need for help, or the high input level may create mental fatigue in individuals, thereby reducing their responsiveness to others (reduced helpfulness towards strangers in need). A clear cut empirical test of input effect mediated by long term adjustment seems nearly impossible, as argued in chapter 4, as the variables of interest, a city's or district's characteristic input level, would be correlated with so many other potentially infuential variables. Thus, the present study decided to test for input

effects only as they might occur on a continuous basis, ie variable input level resulting directly in variation in helpfulness (short term adaptation). It was recognized that this was a more specific test of the 'input overload' hypothesis, since it tests for only one of the ways by which input effects could be operating. Note that, as discussed in the Method section of Chapter 4, high and low input settings in a given locality were near enough together so as to have a sufficient interchange of pedestrian traffic, hence reducing the likelihood of having pedestrians (subjects) in the two settings differing in a significant way, such as personal characteristics or present activity. Another problem with the 'input overload' hypothesis is the sheer impossibility of specifying the occurrence of overload, which depends in part on individual states and processes not easily accessible to investigation (Korte, 1976). However, a more manageable expression of the hypothesis seems to predict effects as a function of the increase in environmental input level, realizing that it may only be differences across some critical undefined threshold point which are instrumental to any effects obtained. In sum, then, the hypothesis tested in the present study predicted lower helpfulness simply with an increase in the input level, eliminating the ambiguity of the overload concept yet still providing a valid test of the effect of bombardment of input on helping behaviour.

The results indicated that the overall level of helpfulness shown towards strangers was considerably lower in locales where the environmental inputs were high (the level of sound, density, the level of traffic and commercial versus residential character)

than in locales with low environmental inputs. However, this effect was statistically significant only for the female subjects and then only for two out of three measures. These findings were unexpected. Yet, this result is intriguing in the light of other recent research suggesting sex differences in response to environmental conditions (Epstein and Karlin, 1975) and also in the light of possible cultural interpretations of these differences. These data might indicate that the females are more responsive to the environmental input level with a correspondingly greater adjustment in their level of helpfulness towards others. On the other hand, recognition of the Turkish and Islamic norm concerning women which emphasises a woman's non-involvement with strangers in a public setting may suggest that the result was rather a reflection of this cultural outlook in Turkey. For example, the high input locales may have been regarded as more public than the low input locales and hence in the former the norm was more salient and more adhered to, resulting in a reduced level of helpfulness amongst Turkish women. This is an empirical question which should be investigated further. Whatever explanation is appropriate for the present input results there is an overall (though not statistically significant) decline in the level of helpfulness with the increasing environmental input level. This gives some support for the environmental input level explanation of helpfulness illustrating to a limited extent that the helpfulness might be responsive to the immediate environmental input level which seems quite prominent in the urban environment (see Appendix for demonstration of a significantly higher input level

in the Turkish cities than towns).

The present research has given some indication that the overall environmental input level accounts for some variance in helping behaviour; but how much of the variance does it account for? Looking at the Turkish data with this question in mind, it would seem quite unlikely that a rank order of locales in terms of input levels would correspond to the rank order of the same locales in terms of helpfulness. In fact, the most helpful areas were the crowded, busy, noisy squatter settlements, while the least helpful areas, the district 4 settings - suburban - were quiet residential neighbourhoods. This clearly suggests that an explanation for the overall differences in helpfulness between those neighbourhoods must involve explanations in terms of other factors, which may mask the effects of input level. Such factors could include the social characteristics of these places and cultural characteristics of residents, which seem to be potential factors influencing social behaviour such as helpfulness. It may well be that helping behaviour is more determined by the personal and social circumstances of the situation than it is by the environmental ones, and that a misleading picture can be created by over-emphasizing environmental influences on helping behaviour. Too little is known at present to be able to resolve this question, yet the form of resolution may ideally be an integration of social and environmental explanation as the previously mentioned environment - behaviour model suggests. For example the environmental input level explanation of helpfulness could implicitly include a more social explanation of helpfulness, namely that the treatment of certain people

(strangers) is regarded (perhaps only within certain cultures or social groups), as something that can be adjusted within certain limits from moment to moment to accommodate the other needs and consideration of the individual. Likewise, social explanations of helping behaviour e.g in terms of social norms (Berkowitz et al, 1963, 1964, 1966, 1972 and Schwartz et al, 1970), can be seen as bound up with environmental factors that may impede or facilitate norm-based patterns of social behaviour (Reed, 1974, Michelson, 1976). It is clear from the above argument that an integrated approach to the explanation of helping behaviour should be the goal in the area of research.

In addition to its main concern with urban social behaviour, the present study examined several aspects of helping behaviour in various contexts which included sex differences in helping behaviour and a theoretical question: the source of help and type of helpfulness relationships.

Sex differences in helpfulness

Sex differences in helpfulness were examined in Turkey in the light of the earlier findings from other cultural settings (ie the USA). An individual's sex has been found to influence helping behaviour however, this depended on the situation in which helping behaviour occurred and the nature of the helping act. For example, if the helping behaviour involved is free from high cost, threat and requires no masculine orientation, then, as the previous research found, there is usually no sex difference in helping. Contrary to these findings, in a low cost helping situation, in Turkey, sex differences in helping behaviour occurred: males were significantly more helpful than females. Turkish females' lower level of helpfulness was explained by the 'traditional women' concept in Turkish society. This clearly indicated that above all situational factors which may cause sex differences in helpfulness, the culture can be an important variable in conditioning the behaviour.

Source of help and type of help relationship

Finally the present study was concerned with the evaluation of a theoretical question: the relationship between the type of helping act and the source of help. This was important in that in the area of helping research attention has been centred on factors which influence an individual to offer help when another individual (help-seeker) quite clearly wishes or needs to be helped (certainly it was the case in the present study). Yet the efforts to understand types of help and source of help relationships has drawn little concern, although it seems obvious

that a balance between these two elements is likely to determine the occurrence of helpfulness. For example, it is likely that a need for help will be expressed only if a person (help-seeker) is satisfied as to the appropriateness or approachability of a potential helper. The present finding is that the nature of the helping act does clearly affect the preference for a particular source of help, ie whether an individual should turn to kin or friends or neighbours. The factors found to influence the preference of a particular source of help were the cost and intimacy required in a helping task. Neighbours are associated with kinds of helping tasks which are low in cost and intimacy. Friends, by contrast, become helpers also when helping tasks require more intimacy, while kin's help is sought in the case of tasks involving a great amount of cost. These findings, besides informing us of the nature of these social relationships in question, show that the nature of a helping task determines a particular source of help.

RECONSIDERATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

The first question of this thesis was whether Turkish city environments differ from town environments in various types of social behaviour. The aim was the evaluation of urbanization/pro-social behaviour relationships in a different setting from those studied earlier. In this case, in line with the urban impact theory, this study conceptualized the city as comprising a total pattern of features which are unique and that have consequences for urban residents' experience, thought and

social behaviour. The second question involved a detailed examination of pro-social behaviour in various city environments in order to assess the precise nature of the impact of urbanization on pro-social behaviour. Finally the research made an attempt to single out certain features that exist in extreme form in the city, and examined whether they are responsible for the lower level of helpfulness in the city. For this, the hypothesized effect of input level on helpfulness was examined across environments.

Apart from verifying in Turkey the earlier findings from the Western Countries on urban social behaviour (certain types of pro-social behaviour are influenced by city living), the major finding is that the city is not a homogeneous entity in terms of social behaviour. It is composed of various environments, some of which showed a level of social behaviour which matched or came close to that of the town. Furthermore, the pattern of variation in social behaviour across these environments indicated that environments can be better conceptualised in terms of a behavioural continuum than in terms of an urban/non-urban dichotomy; social behaviour should be seen as a product of both physical and socio-cultural variables characterizing a given environment. This, altogether, indicates a complex interplay between urbanization and social behaviour. Urbanization alone is not an explanation; the socio-cultural characteristics of an environment seem to play a mediating role between urbanization and social behaviour, as is suggested by the observed behavioural differences between city squatter settlements and the other urban districts. Yet, as indicated earlier the present study does not

contain data on socio-cultural variables for environments other than city-squatter settlements. Such data is needed for a proper evaluation of the proposed relationship between urbanization and pro-social behaviour: it is necessary to compare the socio-cultural aspects of the respective environments. This means that further data on socio-cultural variables is needed for each environment studied and should be collected by future studies. This data, together with that concerning the environment which is already available, would enable future research to deal with the question which the present study can not deal with unequivocally: why helpfulness in the different parts of the urban environment varied. Such a study would identify possible determinants of pro-social behaviour and their inter-relationships. Data on socio-cultural variables could be obtained from these environments through a survey which would determine residents' personal background; S.E.S, ethnicity, religion and origin (ie rural or urban); and residents' social and personal networks (eg kinship, friends etc). Further, the survey could examine relevant social norms and social values among residents of these environments. Additional data concerning the nature of everyday social activities in respective settings would also be illuminating and would complement the data collected by the survey. This could be accomplished through direct, unobtrusive observation of, for example, what types of individuals can be found and what types of daily social activities are carried out within a given environment, in a similar way to Barker (1968).

The urbanization and social behaviour relationship observed

in Turkey should also be examined in other cultural settings. This is so firstly because, with the exception of the study in Holland by Korte et al (1975), which found no intra-urban variations in pro-social behaviour, there is virtually no data available. The studies which are available, especially those which have been conducted in the U.S.A (see Chapter 2) have used samples drawn from a single locale within each of the environments (eg city versus town), usually a main thoroughfare (Fisher, 1978; Hanson, Slade and Slade, 1978). Hence the data from these studies may have led to the premature conclusion that there are consistent differences in pro-social behaviour between the two environments. This, however, fails to evaluate the precise nature of the impact of the urban environment on social behaviour (Hanson, Slade and Slade, 1978). The Turkish findings clearly inform us that the urbanization and social behaviour association is not a one way impact relationship, as the determinist theory (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1950) has depicted. For this reason these Turkish findings of intra-city variation need to be evaluated by a future study in different cultural settings, for example ideally in the U.S.A where, as indicated, almost all the empirical data on urban social behaviour has been collected, but where no study has yet examined the intra-city variation in the urban phenomenon in a systematic fashion. Secondly, a cross-cultural extension of the Turkish research is desirable, to investigate whether the pattern of urbanization and social behaviour relationships in other cultural settings (eg the U.S.A) is similar to that observed in Turkey. In other words, whether the potentially influential forces (ie environmental and

socio-cultural factors) act in a similar fashion across environments as in Turkey in determining the nature of urban social behaviour.

For this end, a future study in the U.S.A should collect data from a set of environments that are similar to the Turkish ones both in terms of their environmental characteristics (level of urbanization, level of environmental input) and socio-cultural characteristics. In efforts to select similar research environments with regard to these two variables (environmental and socio-cultural) objective measurement techniques should be employed. For example , for the environmental characteristics of urban settings, techniques similar to those employed in Turkey for the selection of city districts can be used. A city typology could be drawn up on the basis of a stereotype study amongst the native city residents, then objective measurements of environmental input level taken in each locale. For the measurement of the socio-cultural characteristics of these environments a survey study, as earlier suggested, could be undertaken. This would examine the socio - personal characteristics of residents (i.e SES, ethnicity, religion, origin (rural versus urban): residents' personal networks (Kin, Friends, Neighbours) within a given environment and the survey may also include questions concerning relevant social norms and values.

When replicating the research on the urban village phenomenon certain precautions should be taken in locating this environment within the city. As was mentioned earlier, urban villages are often confounded with slums in developed Western

cities, and developing third world cities alike (Karpat, 1976). This is because certain aspects of slums resemble those of urban village settlements, for example, similarity in their SES, living conditions, rundown housing, and crowded concentration of population etc. Yet, the literature strongly suggests that a slum is the end product of forces that are divisive and destructive (Hunter, 1964; Mangin,1970). Slums are generally depicted as a city neighbourhood of poverty, rundown housing, crowded concentration of lower-class people, high rate of crime, divorce, violence, alienation, isolation and family disintegration. By contrast, the urban village phenomenon is a quite different one, involving a sense of belongingness and identification with the local neighbourhood and a high level of inter-personal social behaviour and helpfulness among residents and helpfulness towards strangers: this was partly demonstrated in the present study in the case of the developing world, and by Gans (1962) in Boston WestEnd and by Jacobs (1961) in Greenwhich village in New York. For this reason, future research should exercise caution when extending the present type of urban village research in to another cultural environment. Urban village environments may be found in the neighbourhoods of the Western cities where Gans (1962), Jacobs (1961) and Young and Willmott (1962) made their observations or alternatively in neighbourhoods where ethnic or religious minorities reside. However research which locates this type of urban neighbourhood for a test of the urban village thesis must examine, primarily, residents' social and personal networks (ie kin,friends,neighbours),besides their personal characteristics. Findings from such a study, apart from

verifying those obtained in Turkish squatter communities, will test the hypothesis of Newman (1973) and Jacobs (1961) that the nature of local networks furthers various types of helpfulness shown towards the neighbourhood residents as well as to other people present in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, such a study might inform about the persistence over time of the observed characteristics of the city squatter settlements in the developing world. The Turkish city squatters, compared to their western city counterparts (ie the "urban villagers") may be relatively new to cities and the length of residence could be the factor which is crucial for their observed characteristics.

There are other important problems for future research in urban psychology to resolve, since asking such a crude question as "are positive social behaviours lower in urban environments?" is unlikely to bring a much clearer understanding about the nature of the impact of the urban environment (Fisher, 1978; Korte, 1980). Posing the question in this way is unlikely to tell us what features of the urban environment are responsible for the observed behavioural differences. These issues have yet to be answered and the effects of various urban environmental features need to be ascertained by future studies.

It is clear that real progress in understanding the complexities of urban social behaviour will be most likely to come from the evaluation of particular environmental features that we regard as 'urban', and this in turn will have practical value. For example as discussed in Chapter 1 , crowding, density, noise, architectural design and anonymity are factors which seem to be good candidates for the explanation of urban

pro-social behaviour. Various types of measurements should be employed in future research so that the value of each of these environmental variables can be evaluated as a determinant of urban social behaviour. However there is a major theoretical problem, when studying the impact of these environmental variables. Taking as an example the density in an urban environment, an appropriate theory should explain why and how the density at various levels in the city can influence pro-social behaviour (Baldassare and Fisher,1977). It may be that the accumulation of empirical findings can give way to a progressive theory-testing stage of research that is aimed at explaining the basic determinants of the different forms of pro-social behaviour.

The most important deficiency of current research is the absence of good theory. However, as an exception to this, as tested in this study, Milgram´s (1970) input overload hypothesis can be cited. This hypothesis seems to have great potential for elaboration by specifying underlying psychological mechanisms. Input bombardment by the environment can produce behavioural effects by several means: adaptation, habituation or a redefinition of the situation in terms of opportunities. As Milgram suggests, a fully elaborated theory which includes a full account of the actual process initiated by environmental overload could encompass a wide range of phenomena in the city and stimulate research. However this emphasis on the usefulness of an enviromental determinist theory such as Milgram´s should not be taken as condoning the environmental deteministic position in general. Clearly such a theory needs to be carefully integrated

with considerations about cultural factors and this should be the goal of future reseach. In a similar vein, Zimbardo's (1969) de-individuation theory may be cited. De-individuation may be a significant mediating state that provides an explanation for the types of behavioural effects generated by certain environmental conditions, eg density and spatial characteristics (see Chapter 1 for more detailed discussion on the phenomenon of deindividuation). Attention to the perceptual and motivational states resulting from contact with the environment becomes invaluable as it is integrated with efforts to explain the behavioural effects of environmental factors (Ittelson, 1978). However, it is also important that the emphasis placed on environmental influences should not preclude inclusion of the non-environmental factors that determine the character of urban social behaviour. The selective migration phenomenon, or the fact that people with particular characteristics choose to inhabit particular environments, is evidence of the dangers of adopting environmental determinism. Perhaps in such a case a model for organizing research findings on urban social behaviour, as suggested earlier in this chapter, is Michelson's (1976) congruence model, which suggests that states of variables in one system, eg the environment, coexist better with states of variables in another system, eg soci-cultural states, than with alternative states. Efforts in future research should, therefore, start with theoretically informed questions which will provide answers which are more definitive than the ones currently available.

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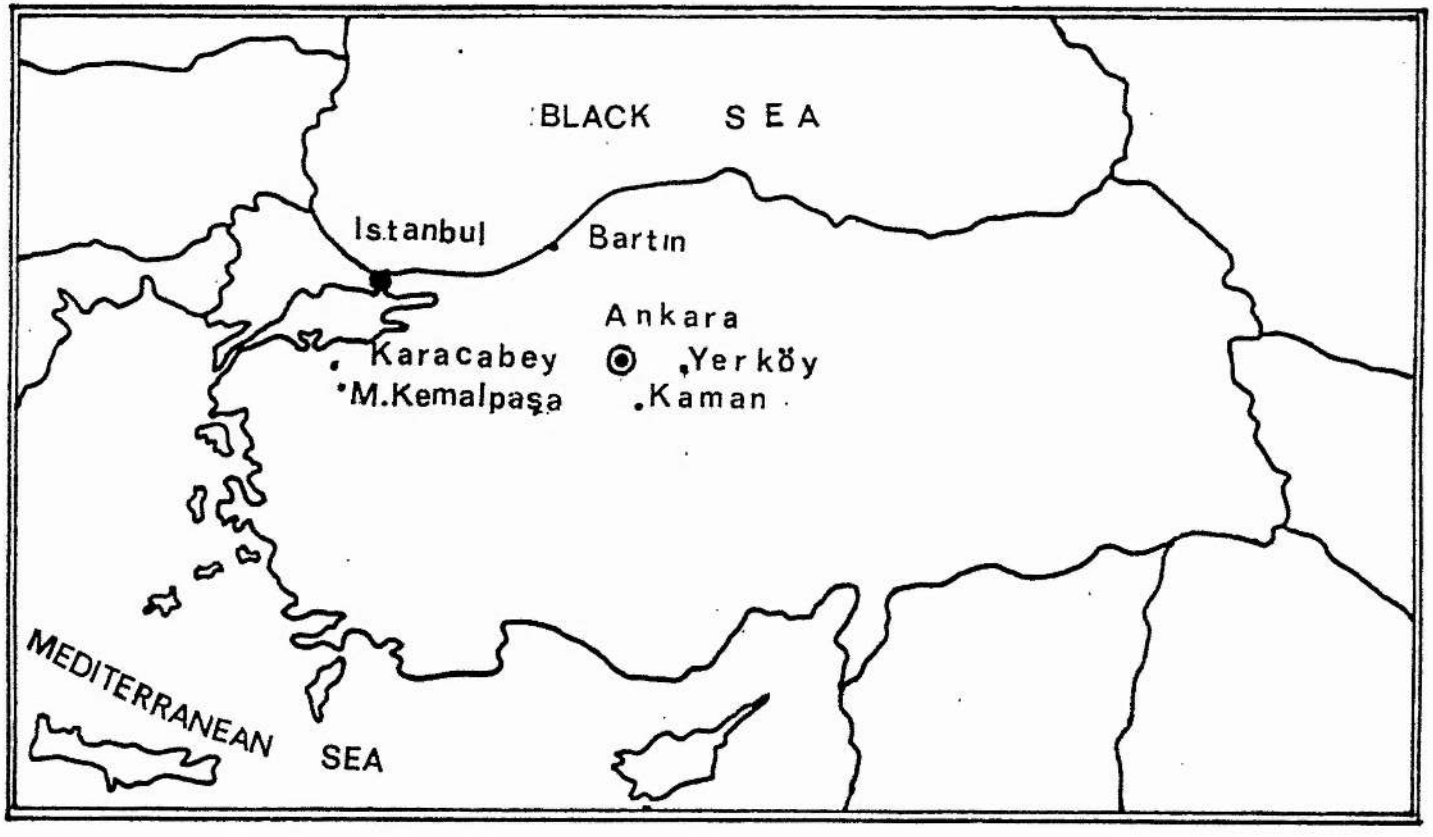
APPENDIX

TABLE OF CONTENTS FOR APPENDIX

TURKEY


BLACK SEA
Istanbul
Bartın
Ankara
Karacabey
Yerköy
M.Kemalpaşa
Kaman
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Names of the sites of data collection in cities

city-squatters and towns in Turkey

	High input setting	Low input setting
ANKARA		
Kızılay (District 1)	Atatürk Bulvarı	Mithat paşa caddesi
Maltepe (District 2)	Tandoğan meydanı including the avenue leading to Kızılay	Onur caddesi
Yeni mahalle (District 3)	Çarsı caddesi and Hukumet konağı meydanı	Akın caddesi
Gaziosmanpasa (District 4)	Kavaklıdere caddesi	Nene Hatun caddesi
ISTANBUL		
Karakoy (District 1)	Karaköy meydanı and Rıhtım caddesi	Bankalar caddesi
Beyazıt	Ordu caddesi and Hürriyet meydanı	Şehzade başı
Kadıkoy (District 2)	Dörtyol caddesi	Rıhtım caddesi leading to Haydarpasa
Eyüp (District 3)	Eyüp sultan türbesi Meydanı, and Çarsı caddesi	Hacı Osman caddesi
Yeşilkoy (District 4)	Ataköy Bulvarı, and İstasyon caddesi	Extension of Ataköy bulvarı
SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS		
ANKARA		
Kaleiçi-Yenidoğan	Pazaryeri, kale içi sokak, and Işık caddesi	Bayir sokak
Şentepe	Çarsı caddesi, Okul Meydanı	27 Mayıs caddesi
ISTANBUL		
Zeytinburnu	İstasyon, and Ondokuz Mayıs caddesi	Extension of Ondokuz Mayıs caddesi
Gaziosmanpasa	Belediye meydani, and Kurtuluş caddesi	Extension of Kurtuluş caddesi

TOWNS /

	High input setting	Low input setting
TOWNS		
Bartın	Aşagı çarsı caddesi, and Karakaş caddesi	Orta okul caddesi, and Asma köprü caddesi
Kaman	Ömer hacılı caddesi, Istiklal caddesi, and 27 Mayıs caddesi	Keskinci caddesi Müdderris sok
Yerköy	Kirşehir caddesi, Vatan caddesi, Cumhuriyet caddesi, and Beşliaydın caddesi	Hükümet caddesi, and Yozgat caddesi
Karacabey	Hükümet Meydani, Bursa caddesi, Panayır caddesi	Karaca Ahmet caddesi, Tahıl Meydanı

Measurements of the level of sound, pedestrian, traffic and public buildings density in high and low input settings in sixteen city, city squatter and town locations

ISTANBUL

		Sound level		Pedestrian		Traffic		Visible public buildings
	Input	S	M	S	M	S	M	M
Beyazit and Karakoy	High	2.37	75.41	10.35	74.5	10.14	84.5	20
	Low	2.49	69.36	10.80	35.0	6.02	42.5	17
Kadikoy	High	1.65	70.87	13.63	63.0	9.84	58.5	18
	Low	2.28	67.20	4.78	31.75	5.25	27.5	11
Eyup	High	2.63	67.5	6.02	33.5	6.39	26.25	12
	Low	2.98	64.36	3.94	21.75	6.02	23.5	14
Yesilkoy and Goztepe	High	4.04	60.4	4.08	14.0	5.5	8.5	6
	Low	2.85	57.35	1.5	4.25	2.75	3.25	0

ANKARA

		Sound level		Pedestrian		Traffic		Visible public buildings
	Input	S	M	S	M	S	M	M
Kizilay	High	3.27	74.25	9.73	71.25	12.15	71.5	21
	Low	2.43	70.04	13.66	56.5	8.60	68.5	20
Maltepe	High	2.02	73.92	4.20	40.5	7.20	52.5	14
	Low	4.66	70.03	10.60	35.5	8.61	30.5	17
Yenimahalle	High	3.06	68.23	6.50	30.0	7.02	22.5	17
	Low	1.97	66.17	8.31	23.5	4.75	17.5	12
Gaziosmanpasa	High	2.07	60.36	3.09	8.35	2.50	10.5	4
	Low	1.02	58.28	1.7	6.25	2.75	8.0	2

TOWNS

		Sound level		Pedestrian		Traffic		Visible public buildings
	Input	S	M	S	M	S	M	M
Bartin	High	3.64	60.5	2.87	19.25	1.52	7.33	11
	Low	3.40	57.20	2.0	8.0	0.5	5.3	6
Yerkoy	High	2.56	59.7	2.98	21.25	2.62	7.75	12
	Low	2.04	56.25	0.95	10.75	3.09	5.25	8
Kaman	High	1.61	61.23	1.28	14.75	2.21	9.25	8
	Low	3.26	56.58	1.29	15.5	0.5	1.25	7
Karacabey	High	3.64	62.3	3.55	20.0	3.10	14.5	13
	Low	3.68	59.15	2.75	14.75	1.70	7.25	7

CITY SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS

		Sound level		Pedestrian		Traffic		Visible public buildings
	Input	S	M	S	M	S	M	M
Gaziosmanpasa	High	3.51	65.2	4.6	30	2.36	10	12
	Low	2.10	62.5	2.2	12	3.20	9	5
Zeytin burnu	High	1.66	67.3	3.1	29	1.5	20	13
	Low	2.09	65.2	2.3	19	2.6	6	7
Sentepe	High	2.7	67.5	1.6	18	0.5	18	10
	Low	3.07	61.4	2.2	12	1.52	9	9
Kaleici	High	1.25	65.4	3.25	27	1.8	19	16
	Low	4.25	63.6	4.6	15	3.10	6	6

	Input	M	S
Sound level[a]	High	65.38	4.05
	Low	62.06	4.32
Pedestrian volume[b]	High	28.89	11.8
	Low	17.85	7.83
Traffic volume[c]	High	22.58	16.77
	Low	13.3	12.49
Building volume[d]	High	12.58	1.5
	Low	8.45	2.73

[a] $t(30) = 1.76, p < .05$

[b] $t(30) = 1.90, p < .05$

[c] $t(30) = 1.52, p < .08$

[d] $t(30) = 0.50$, ns

Comparison of environments in their environmental input levels (low and high input levels combined)

Locales[A]	Sound level		Pedestrian density		Traffic level		Visible public buildings	
	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M
City	5.60	67.10	22.2	34.35	25.4	34.92	6.64	12.81
Town	2.24	59.11	4.6	15.50	3.8	7.25	2.60	9.00
City squatter settlements	2.51	64.76	7.4	20.25	5.9	12.12	3.77	9.75

City districts[B]	Sound level		Pedestrian density		Traffic level		Visible public buildings	
	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M
District 1	2.68	72.01	18.0	59.50	17.6	66.75	1.70	19.5
District 2	2.76	70.50	14.0	42.68	16.2	42.90	3.16	15.0
District 3	1.69	66.56	5.5	27.18	3.65	22.40	2.36	13.75
District 4	1.52	59.09	4.2	8.21	3.07	7.56	2.50	3.0

A City versus town (sound level) = $t(264) = 14.05$, $p < .01$
City versus town (pedestrian density) = $t(46) = 3.29$, $p < .01$
City versus town (traffic level) = $t(46) = 4.26$, $p < .01$

City versus squatter (sound level) = $t(264) = 4.10$, $p < .01$
City versus squatter (pedestrian density) = $t(46) = 2.38$, $p < .01$
City versus squatter (traffic level) = $t(46) = 3.48$, $p < .01$

Town versus squatter (sound level) = $t(264) = -21.73$, $p < .01$
Town versus squatter (pedestrian density) = $t(46) = -2.68$, $p < .01$
Town versus squatter (traffic level) = $t(46) = -3.18$, $p < .01$

B District 1 versus District 4 (sound level) = $t(174) = 55.4$, $p < .01$
District 1 versus District 4 (pedestrian density) = $t(14) = 10.4$, $p < .01$
District 1 versus District 4 (traffic level) = $t(14) = 32.16$, $p < .01$

QUESTIONNAIRE

AGE: 65 and over .....
45 - 64 .....
25 - 44 .....
24 and below .....

SEX: M ..... F .....

PLACE OF BIRTH: .....

PRESENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE: .....

STAGE OF LIFE: Married ..... Unmarried .....

OCCUPATION: .....

YOUR HOUSEHOLD NUMBER:
(a) Single .....
(b) Family with no children .....
(c) Family with one or more children .....
(d) Family living together with grandparents .....
(e) Family living with grandparents, brothers and sisters .....

1. Where do your kin live?	They live with me	In the same neighbourhood	In a different district	In another city or town
(a) Your mother and father (mother- and father-in-law included).				
(b) Your brothers and sisters (brothers- and sisters-in-law included).				
(c) Your uncles and aunts.				
(d) Your other relatives.				

2. How often do you get in touch with ...	Almost every day	Usually more than once a week	Once a week	Occasionally	Never
(a) your mother and father (mother- and father-in-law included)?					
(b) your brothers and sisters (brothers- and sisters-in-law included)?					
(c) your uncles and aunts?					
(d) your other relatives?					

3. How do you get in touch with ...	They live with me	Usually by visiting	Usually by telephone	Usually by letter	Never
(a) your mother and father (mother- and father-in-law included)?					
(b) your brothers and sisters (brothers- and sisters-in-law included)?					
(c) your uncles and aunts?					
(d) your other relatives?					

4. How easily do you expect to exchange the types of assistance given below with your kin?
(Please answer each question by ticking the appropriate column.)

	I would ask, no problem.	I can ask.	No idea.	A bit hard.	I cannot ask.
1. Asking to use the telephone.					
2. Borrowing small household items.					
3. Doing some household jobs for you.					
4. Doing some shopping for you.					
5. Looking after your children for a couple of hours.					
6. Borrowing a small amount of money.					
7. Borrowing some personal things.					
8. Discussing a personal problem.					
9. Asking help within a period of sudden sickness for a short time.					
10. Asking your kin to take care of or look after your children and your home while you are away or sick for a week.					
11. Asking some advice about taking a job.					
12. Borrowing a large amount of money in case of emergency.					
13. Asking help for getting a job.					
14. Asking to share kin's house in the course of house shortage.					
15. Asking to be looked after if you had broken a leg, or something like that, so you had to lie down for three months.					
16. Asking for any type of support in the time of you having really serious troubles.					

FRIENDSHIP

1. Could you list the names and addresses of six people who you consider to be your closest friends in the true sense. If you can not list that many, please list those that you can.

   1. ..... 4. .....

   2. ..... 5. .....

   3. ..... 6. .....

2. How many of your closest friends whom you listed above fall into the following categories?

   1. Most of them are my childhood friends. .....

   2. Most of them are my neighbourhood friends. .....

   3. Most of them are my work associates, colleagues. .....

   4. Friends from other categories other than the above three. .....

3. Where do those closest friends whom you listed above life?

   1. All live in my neighbourhood. .....

   2. Most of them live in my neighbourhood. .....

   3. Most of them live in another neighbourhood in the town or city. .....

   4. They all live in another town or city. .....

4. How often do you see them?

   1. Usually every day. .....

   2. Usually more than once a week. .....

   3. Usually once a fortnight. .....

   4. Occasionally. .....

5. Which way do you get in touch with your friends listed above?

   1. Usually home visiting. .....

   2. Usually meeting somewhere else in the locale. .....

   3. Usually meeting somewhere out of the locale. .....

   4. Usually at the place of work. .....

   5. Usually by telephone or other means. .....

6. How easily do you expect to exchange the types of assistance given below with your friends?
(Please answer each question by ticking the appropriate column.)

	I would ask, no problem.	I can ask.	No idea.	A bit hard.	I cannot ask.
1. Asking to use the telephone.					
2. Borrowing small household items.					
3. Doing some household jobs for you.					
4. Doing some shopping for you.					
5. Looking after your children for a couple of hours.					
6. Borrowing a small amount of money.					
7. Borrowing some personal things.					
8. Discussing a personal problem.					
9. Asking help within a period of sudden sickness for a short time.					
10. Asking your friends to take care of or look after your children and your home while you are away or sick for a week.					
11. Asking some advice about taking a job.					
12. Borrowing a large amount of money in case of emergency.					
13. Asking help for getting a job.					
14. Asking to share friends' house in the course of house shortage.					
15. Asking to be looked after if you had broken a leg, or something like that, so you had to lie down for three months.					
16. Asking for any type of support in the time of you having really serious troubles.					

NEIGHBOUR RELATIONS

1. How well do you know the people in your neighbourhood?
   1. I know quite a large number of local people well. .....
   2. I know some local people well. .....
   3. I know some local people to say 'hello' to. .....
   4. I know no-one. .....

2. How many neighbours do you know well?
   1. I know six or more neighbours well. .....
   2. I know six to three neighbours well. .....
   3. I know between three and one neighbours well. .....
   4. I know no neighbours well. .....

3. How often do you see your neighbours?
   1. Almost every day. .....
   2. More than once a week. .....
   3. Usually once a week. .....
   4. Often. .....
   5. Occasionally. .....

4. Where do you meet your neighbours usually?
   1. Home visiting. .....
   2. Popping in for a few minutes. .....
   3. On the street. .....
   4. Ways other than those three already listed. .....

5. How easily do you expect to exchange the types of assistance given below with your neighbours?
(Please answer each question by ticking the appropriate column.)

	I would ask, no problem.	I can ask.	No idea.	A bit hard.	I cannot ask.
1. Asking to use the telephone.					
2. Borrowing small household items.					
3. Doing some household jobs for you.					
4. Doing some shopping for you.					
5. Looking after your children for a couple of hours.					
6. Borrowing a small amount of money.					
7. Borrowing some personal things.					
8. Discussing a personal problem.					
9. Asking help within a period of sudden sickness for a short time.					
10. Asking your neighbours to take care of or look after your children and your home while you are away or sick for a week.					
11. Asking some advice about taking a job.					
12. Borrowing a large amount of money in case of emergency.					
13. Asking help for getting a job.					
14. Asking to share neighbours' house in the course of house shortage.					
15. Asking to be looked after if you had broken a leg, or something like that, so you had to lie down for three months.					
16. Asking for any type of support in the time of you having really serious troubles.					

This section of the present survey is concerned with the assistance which you might have exchanged within the past six months with your kin, friends or neighbours. If any of the types of assistance exchange listed below occurred, please indicate it by ticking the appropriate column. If types of assistance occurred other than those listed below, please state them by using the space below.

Type of helpfulness	Kin	Friends	Neighbours
1. You asked to use the telephone or they did.			
2. You borrowed small household items or they did.			
3. You did some household jobs for them or they did for you.			
4. You did some shopping for them or they did for you.			
5. You looked after their children or they did for you.			
6. You borrowed a small amount of money from them or they did from you.			
7. You borrowed some personal things or they did.			
8. You discussed personal things with them or they did with you.			
9. You asked some advice about taking a job or they did.			
10. You asked assistance for getting a job or they did.			
11. You borrowed a fairly large amount of money or they did.			
12. You asked to be looked after because you were ill or they did.			

Variable	Category	Code
1. Present place of residence (locale):	Istanbul 1)	1 City
	Ankara 2)	
	Towns 3	2 Town
	Istanbul squatters 4)	3 Squatter
	Ankara squatters 5)	
2. Sex:	Male	1
	Female	2
3. Age:	65 and over	1
	45 - 64	2
	25 - 44	3
	24 and below	4
4. Stage of life:	Single	1
	Married	2
5. Origin:	Present place of residence	1
	Another place	2
6. Socio-economic class:	Upper middle	1
	Middle class	2
	Lower middle class	3
	Upper working class	4
	Working class	5
7. Size of family:	Single	1
	Family with no child	2
	Family with one or more children	3
	Family living together with parents	4
	Family living together with parents, sisters and brothers	5
8. Length of residence:	Less than a year	1
	Between 1 - 4 years	2
	Between 5 - 9 years	3
	Between 10 - 19 years	4
	Over 20 years	5
	Since birth	6

Coding of the questionnaire items has already been reported along with ranking of each measure of social behaviours and can be seen in each relevant section.

Types of the actual occurrence of helpfulness between kin

Type of helpfulness	Frequency of occurrence of helpfulness in %
1. You asked to use the telephone or they did.	8.06
2. You borrowed small household items or they did.	10.0
3. You did some household jobs for them or they did for you.	9.5
4. You did some shopping for them or they did for you.	8.6
5. You looked after their children or they did for you.	10.5
6. You borrowed a small amount of money from them or they did from you.	11.1
7. You borrowed some personal things or they did.	6.4
8. You discussed personal things with them or they did with you.	17.3
9. You asked some advice about taking a job or they did.	8.8
10. You asked assistance for getting a job or they did.	4.5
11. You borrowed a fairly large amount of money or they did.	7.2
12. You asked to be looked after because you were ill or they did.	6.3

Total N = 787

Types of the actual occurrence of helpfulness between friends

Type of helpfulness	Frequency of occurrence of helpfulness in %
1. You asked to use the telephone or they did.	8.9
2. You borrowed small household items or they did.	7.13
3. You did some household jobs for them or they did for you.	9.66
4. You did some shopping for them or they did for you.	7.8
5. You looked after their children or they did for you.	10.4
6. You borrowed a small amount of money from them or they did from you.	12.32
7. You borrowed some personal things or they did.	9.9
8. You discussed personal things with them or they did with you.	16.2
9. You asked some advice about taking a job or they did.	7.3
10. You asked assistance for getting a job or they did.	2.9
11. You borrowed a fairly large amount of money or they did.	3.3
12. You asked to be looked after because you were ill or they did.	4.3

Total N = 629

Types of the actual occurrence of helpfulness between neighbours

Type of helpfulness	Frequency of occurrence of helpfulness in %
1. You asked to use the telephone or they did.	14.3
2. You borrowed small household items or they did.	17.5
3. You did some household jobs for them or they did for you.	17.6
4. You did some shopping for them or they did for you.	16.8
5. You looked after their children or they did for you.	12.7
6. You borrowed a small amount of money from them or they did from you.	8.2
7. You borrowed some personal things or they did.	2.5
8. You discussed personal things with them or they did with you.	3.6
9. You asked some advice about taking a job or they did.	2.1
10. You asked assistance for getting a job or they did.	1.7
11. You borrowed a fairly large amount of money or they did.	1.4
12. You asked to be looked after because you were ill or they did.	2.0

Total N = 634

Types of expected helpfulness from kin

Type of helpfulness	M	S	N
1. Asking to use the telephone.	3.38	0.63	256
2. Borrowing small household items.	2.50	0.31	256
3. Doing some household jobs for you.	3.03	0.20	256
4. Doing some shopping for you.	3.06	0.29	256
5. Looking after your children for a couple of hours.	3.10	0.19	256
6. Borrowing a small amount of money.	3.01	0.27	256
7. Borrowing some personal things.	1.67	1.93	256
8. Discussing a personal problem.	1.87	1.46	256
9. Asking help within a period of sudden sickness for a short time.	2.10	0.16	256
10. Asking your kin to take care of or look after your children and your home while you are away or sick for a week.	3.47	0.22	256
11. Asking some advice about taking a job.	2.20	1.57	256
12. Borrowing a large amount of money in case of emergency.	3.48	1.13	256
13. Asking help for getting a job.	2.71	2.10	256
14. Asking to share kin's house in the course of house shortage.	3.31	0.42	256
15. Asking to be looked after if you had broken a leg, or something like that, so you had to lie down for three months.	3.45	0.34	256
16. Asking for any type of support in the time of you having really serious troubles.	3.78	0.17	256

Types of expected helpfulness from friends

Type of helpfulness	M	S	N
1. Asking to use the telephone.	3.55	0.61	256
2. Borrowing small household items.	2.65	0.49	256
3. Doing some household jobs for you.	2.43	2.1	256
4. Doing some shopping for you.	2.76	1.3	256
5. Looking after your children for a couple of hours.	3.01	0.22	256
6. Borrowing a small amount of money.	3.17	0.50	256
7. Borrowing some personal things.	3.58	0.33	256
8. Discussing a personal problem.	3.87	0.66	256
9. Asking help within a period of sudden sickness for a short time.	2.90	0.51	256
10. Asking your friends to take care of or look after your children and your home while you are away or sick for a week.	3.01	1.27	256
11. Asking some advice about taking a job.	3.91	0.23	256
12. Borrowing a large amount of money in case of emergency.	3.47	1.3	256
13. Asking help for getting a job.	3.28	0.37	256
14. Asking to share friends' house in the course of house shortage.	2.91	1.62	256
15. Asking to be looked after if you had broken a leg, or something like that, so you had to lie down for three months.	3.10	0.92	256
16. Asking for any type of support in the time of you having really serious troubles.	3.28	1.13	256

Types of expected helpfulness from neighbours

Type of helpfulness	M	S	N
1. Asking to use the telephone.	3.95	1.26	256
2. Borrowing small household items.	4.29	0.60	256
3. Doing some household jobs for you.	3.91	1.17	256
4. Doing some shopping for you.	3.81	1.13	256
5. Looking after your children for a couple of hours.	3.77	1.52	256
6. Borrowing a small amount of money.	3.70	1.59	256
7. Borrowing some personal things.	1.42	2.6	256
8. Discussing a personal problem.	1.69	1.56	256
9. Asking help within a period of sudden sickness for a short time.	3.10	1.91	256
10. Asking your neighbours to take care of or look after your children and your home while you are away or sick for a week.	2.48	2.30	256
11. Asking some advice about taking a job.	1.20	0.54	256
12. Borrowing a large amount of money in case of emergency.	0.85	0.37	256
13. Asking help for getting a job.	1.67	1.3	256
14. Asking to share neighbours' house in the course of house shortage.	1.03	0.53	256
15. Asking to be looked after if you had broken a leg, or something like that, so you had to lie down for three months.	1.32	2.32	256
16. Asking for any type of support in the time of you having really serious troubles.	1.11	0.36	256

A field study was carried out in Turkey in order to compare the level of helpfulness in towns, cities, and urban squatter settlements. Three different naturalistic measures of helpfulness were used: willingness to give change, willingness to cooperate with an interview, and response to a small accident. The results generally showed significantly less helpfulness in Turkish cities than in the towns and urban squatter settlements, which showed equivalent levels of helpfulness. This supports the view that the squatters may in a psychological and social sense be "urban villagers." Consistent differences in helpfulness were also found between other types of city districts. Environmental input level was found to influence the level of helpfulness for female subjects but not for male subjects. Finally, males were significantly more helpful than females and this sex difference did not lessen between towns and cities; the strongest sex difference, in fact, occurred in the urban squatter settlements.

HELPFULNESS IN TURKEY
Cities, Towns, and Urban Villages

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Numerous analyses of city life have suggested influences which the city exerts on the social behavior of urbanites, but only recently has some evidence started to accumulate about the reality of urban-nonurban differences in social behavior. The city is presumed to have an impact on the character of social behavior between neighbors, friends, relatives, and strangers (Alexander, 1967; Milgram, 1970; Wirth, 1938), yet a recent review (Korte, 1978, 1980) has demonstrated that urban-nonurban differences in social behavior are only clearly

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evident in the social contact between strangers. Compared to their nonurban counterparts, urbanites are less helpful, trusting, and considerate toward strangers (Gelfand, et al., 1973; House and Wolf, 1978; Korte and Kerr, 1975; Krupat and Coury, 1975; Lowin et al., 1971; Merrens, 1973; Milgram, 1970; for an exception, see Forbes and Gromoll, 1971), yet in their contact with friends and relatives, they are not very different from small town dwellers (Korte, 1978, 1980). Limited evidence does support the stereotype that urbanites have less neighborly contact than nonurbanites (Korte, 1980). Contact with strangers is a salient aspect of everyday life, as it is strangers that we are often coping with in a wide variety of everyday affairs and the nature of this contact, or more accurately, the impression of this contact, would appear to be central to our sterotypes of places and impressions of quality of life.

Confidence in the consistency of urban-nonurban differences in helpfulness toward strangers is considerably weakened when one turns to data from cultures other than the United States. To date, four studies on this topic have been reported, carried out in Holland (Korte et al., 1975), Canada (Schneider and Mockus, 1974; Rushton, 1978), and Australia (Amato, 1980). Only two of these four studies—from Canada (Rushton, 1978) and Australia (Amato, 1980)—found urbanites to be less helpful than nonurbanites. This suggests that the occurrence of urban-nonurban differences in social behavior may depend upon particular cultural features that modify the influence of a city environment. What is completely lacking is any indication of whether there are urban-nonurban differences in social behavior in cultures that are different from those that have been studied to date. Several analyses of cities in the developing

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world (Abu-Loghod, 1961; Hauser, 1965) have argued that the Western model of urban behavior and urban social characteristics does not apply to the cities of the developing world, where impersonality, distrust, alienation, and unhelpfulness are not predominant to the degree expected if one simply generalizes from cities of the developed world. No data have been presented to defend this characterization, thus prompting the present study. This study examined helpfulness toward strangers in several towns and major cities in Turkey, a Middle Eastern, developing nation, thus providing an appropriate test for the cross-cultural generality of urban-nonurban differences in social behavior.

Besides examining urban-nonurban differences in Turkey, this study also tested the validity of speculations about intraurban variations in social behavior, particularly the "urban village" phenomenon which is so widespread throughout the developing world, Turkey included. "Urban village" districts of cities are essentially squatter settlements, populated by rural migrants to the city, who set up their own dwellings on vacant land, thus creating dense settlements which have proved surprisingly durable. Many squatter families in the settlements of Istanbul and Ankara are third-generation residents, and the squatters as a whole comprise 45% of Istanbul's population and 59% of Ankara's (Yavuz et al., 1978). What is most interesting is the characterization of the social behavior of these urban squatters, which stresses their villagelike traits of familiarity, helpfulness, mutual aid, and adherence to traditional values and practices (Suzuki, 1964; Levine, 1973; Karpat, 1976; Yasa, 1966; for analyses of the squatter settlements of other developing countries, see Abu-Loghod, 1961; Wilson and Mafje, 1963; Turner, 1962; Lewis, 1959). The present study afforded an opportunity to examine the social behavior of these urban villagers, and in particular to see if their behavior does in fact resemble that found in the smaller communities of Turkey while differing from what is found in the nonsquatter areas of Turkish cities.

A further aspect of intraurban variability examined in this study concerned the behavioral differences to be found between different nonsquatter districts in Turkish cities. Given that urban districts often differ in terms of their level of urbanization as well as their reputations as safe, friendly, helpful areas, one would expect significant differences between districts in the level of helpfulness actually shown toward a stranger. In a previous test of this expectation, carried out in Amsterdam (Korte et al., 1975), the expectation was firmly disconfirmed: four districts having strong reputations as either helpful or unhelpful toward strangers showed no differences in the level of helpfulness. A further test of this expectation was carried out in the present study by comparing the helpfulness of districts of Istanbul and Ankara that differ in their level of urbanization.

Two final variables were also examined in the present study: environmental input level and sex. There is considerable evidence now that helpfulness toward a stranger is reduced as the level of environmental inputs—external stimuli in the form of sights, sounds, events, opportunities—increases (Milgram, 1970; Korte, 1978). The present study allowed for a test of the cross-cultural generality of this effect. The effect of sex on helping behavior appears to depend on the type of situation and type of helpfulness involved (Gergen et al., 1977; Krebs, 1970). In a culture such as Turkey, there are traditional concepts of sex roles that stress the importance of a woman avoiding involvement in public settings and particularly contact with strangers (Abadan, 1963; Meeker, 1976). This sex role concept would suggest a prediction of a greater response from males when confronted with a stranger needing assistance. In addition, if traditional values and conceptions wane as a function of urbanization, then we could expect the superior helpfulness of males to be greater in Turkish towns than in Turkish cities. These expectations were evaluated in the present study with hopes of throwing further light on the situational specificity of sex differences in social behavior.

In summary then, the present study was designed to examine the cross-cultural generality of the relationship between urbanization and helpfulness. This involves first of all a comparison of the level of helpfulness between urban and nonurban environments in Turkey. In addition, the urban environment has been differentiated along a number of dimensions, each of which will clarify the nature of a city's impact on social behavior in a developing nation: (1) squatter vs. nonsquatter urban environments, (2) level of urbanization of the different nonsquatter districts of a city, and (3) level of environmental inputs which characterize any particular locale. The aim of the study, then, is to compare the helpfulness shown strangers across each of these dimensions, as well as between male and female respondents.

METHOD

OVERVIEW

Three measures of helpfulness were administered to a total of 1383 subjects in four towns and two cities in Turkey. The three helpfulness measures were: (a) the response to a request for an interview, (b) the response to a request for change, and (c) the response to a person having difficulties retrieving a dropped box. The field data were collected by two Turkish nationals, one a male in his early 30s and the other a female in her late 20s, who played the role of the person needing assistance. Each measure was administered in the four towns and, for both Istanbul and Ankara, in two squatter settlements and four city districts differing in level of urbanization. In each of these sixteen different locations, two settings of high versus low levels of environmental input were used as the research sites for that location.

SELECTION OF TOWN AND CITY LOCATIONS

Four Turkish towns were selected, one each from northern, mideastern, central, and western Turkey, and met the criteria of (a) being large enough so as to provide settings of both high and low levels of environmental input, and (b) not being appendages of large urban centers or commuter towns. The towns chosen, with their 1975 populations, were Bartin (18,409), Kaman (16,516), Yerkoy (19,927), and Karacabey (21,648).

The two principal cities of Turkey, Istanbul and Ankara, were chosen for the urban sample and within each city, two squatter settlements and four districts were selected as the research locations.

Squatter Settlements. Both Istanbul and Ankara have a number of squatter settlements located in various parts of the city which differ in size, age, and other characteristics. In each city, municipal officials were contacted and asked to name the two settlements that they regarded as most representative of the squatter settlements in their city and, on the basis of this, two settlements were selected for Istanbul—Zaytinburnu and Gaziosmanpasa—and two for Ankara—Kaleici-Yenidogan and Sentepe.

City Districts. In order to select four districts in each city that represented various levels of urbanization, a preliminary study was carried out among a sample of 173 respondents contacted on the streets of Istanbul and Ankara. First, a four-part typology of city districts was drawn up, with the four types of districts defined as representing different points on a continuum from highly urbanized sections of the city to those very low in urban characteristics. Urban characteristics were considered to include a high activity and noise level, high traffic and pedestrian density, and a commercial rather than resi-

dential character. The resulting typology of four district types is listed below:

(a) District 1—the most urbanized section of the city, i.e., the central business district.
(b) District 2—highly urban section but less urban than district 1, with slightly lower levels of density, noise, and population, containing commercial districts, shopping centers, hotels, and apartment houses.
(c) District 3—area of mixed commercial and residential character, with a level of urbanization similar to a small city; housing is largely lower middle and working class.
(d) District 4—suburban areas that are mostly residential with very low levels of urbanization; housing is largely middle and upper middle class.

Next, sidewalk interviews were conducted with respondents in each city who were given a list of the principal districts of their city (twenty in Istanbul and seventeen in Ankara) along with the definitions of the four types of districts described above. Respondents were asked to pick for each district type the one district that best illustrated that type. The selection of districts for this study was then made by taking, for each district type, the district most frequently nominated, resulting in four Istanbul districts (Karakoy-Beyazit, Kadikoy, Eyup, and Yesilkoy) and four Ankara districts (Kizilay, Maltepe, Yenimahalle, and Gaziosmanpasa).

SELECTION OF SETTINGS OF HIGH VERSUS LOW ENVIRONMENTAL INPUT LEVELS

Using the procedures described thus far, sixteen research locations were selected. Within any particular location, the actual site of data collection consisted of two adjacent settings (i.e., streets or intersections) that were judged as differing in

their level of environmental inputs, i.e., sights, sounds, noise level, traffic and pedestrian density. In each location, settings of high input level were identified by an informal observation of local conditions and this selection was then compared with that made by local judges. There was a high degree of concurrence in these judgments and the high level setting was invariably the main thoroughfare of the district. A quieter side street adjacent to the high input setting would then be selected as the low input setting in each case. This was done for each of the sixteen town, city, and city-squatter research locations.

The data collection was arranged so that the locational differences were not contaminatd by order or time effects. Likewise, in order to make the data collected from any particular location more representative of that location, two separate visists for data collection were made to each location. The data were collected during the daylight hours, between July and October, 1978.

HELPFULNESS MEASURES

For the three measures described below, a small validity study was carried out to determine whether the response defined as helpful was regarded as such within Turkish culture. A sample of thirty subjects were interviewed in public settings and asked whether three particular acts, corresponding to the helpful response on the three measures, could be regarded as hepful or not. The results of this study confirmed the appropriateness of these measures as indicators of helpfulness in Turkish society.

In each of the research locations selected, three measures of helpfulness were administered. Subjects were male and female pedestrians, selected at random by the two field researchers. For the interview and change measure, subject selection was done by taking the fifth pedestrian to pass by once a trial had begun, as long as they met the following criteria: (a) they must be unaccompanied, (b) not carrying anything, and (c) between

the ages of 18 and 75. Additional details of these measures are provided below.

Interview Measure. Subjects, 456 in all, were approached jointly by the male and female field researchers and asked the following by the male researcher: "Excuse me, may I ask you a few questions for a survey we are carrying out?" The request was made in a friendly manner, all questions were politely answered, and no further persuasion was applied to induce cooperation. Following the interaction, the subejct's response was coded by the two field researchers into one of the following four categories: (a) subject ignored the researchers, (b) subject listened to the request but declined the interview, (c) subject declined interview but offered a valid excuse, and (d) subject agreed to interview. The first response category proved unnecessary, as there was no occurrence of this behavior among the Turkish subjects.

Money Change Measure. A total of 463 subjects were approached by the research team and asked (by the male) if they had change for a five lira piece (approximately US $.20). cooperative subjects were thanked for their help and again the response of all subjects was coded according to a four-category scheme: (a) subject ignored the researchers; (b) subject replied superficially, without stopping, reporting no change; (c) subject stopped to search for change, appeared basically unwilling to help, and reported having no change; (d) subject appeared quite willing to help, stopped to search for change, and then either gave change or reported having none. Again, the first response category proved unnecessary, as no Turkish subjects acted in this manner.

Dropped Box Measure. This measure was administered to 464 subjects who were selected on the basis of being the first person encountered in a 25-meter stretch of sidewalk, and who met the criteria for inclusion described above. The male

researcher, walking toward the subject, was encumbered with a load of three large boxes, stacked on top of each other. Just as he neared the subject (4-5 meters away), he stumbled, losing the top box. His efforts at retrieving the fallen box were futile, as he could not pick up the fallen box without losing the remaining two. The response of the target subject, who in each case was the nearest and usually the only person available to help, was noted and coded according to the following three categories: (a) subject ignored the situation, (b) subject attended to the situation without assisting the researcher, and (c) subject assisted the researcher. The coding was a joint product of the two researchers' judgments, one acting the part of the person who dropped the box, the other observing discreetly from a short distance. For all three measures, pretests revealed a very high level of agreement between the two researchers' categorization of the subject's response.

RESULTS

The overall rate of helpfulness obtained in Turkey was quite favorable, with at least 70% of the respondents in the most helpful category for each of the interview, dropped box, and change measures. It is interesting to note that on the interview measure, which had been administered in an identical fashion in Holland in a previous study (Korte et al., 1975), the Turkish respondents were significantly more helpful than the Dutch respondents had been.

Before comparing the helpfulness rates between the different subgroups, the comparability of these subgroups in terms of their male/female composition was examined. This was necessary as the subject's sex showed a relationship with two of the helping measures: males were significantly more helpful on the interview measure (χ^2 (2) = 42.48, $p < .01$), somewhat more helpful on dropped box measure (χ^2 (2) = 5.12, $p < .10$), and no different from females on the change measure (χ^2 (2) =

1.77, ns). Given this outcome, comparisons of various subgroups were generally carried out separately for male and female subjects. In many cases, the number of female subjects was too low to draw any meaningful conclusions from these data. The low number of female subjects, 37% of the total sample, is probably a reflection of Moslem norms which restrict the public activity of women, particularly their contact with strangers.

The effects of locale—city, city squatter settlement, or town—and environmental input level on the three helpfulness measures were evaluated by dichotomizing each helpfulness measure into the categories of help and no help, and applying a loglinear analysis (Fox, 1979). For each of the three measures, using data from male subjects only, the locale effect was highly significant (see Table 1): for the money change measure (χ^2 (2) = 44.41, $p < .01$), the interview measure (χ^2 (2) = 24.08, $p < .01$), and for the dropped box measure (χ^2 (2) = 49.5, $p < .01$). The input level effect was insignificant on each of the three helpfulness measures and there were no significant interactions between locale and input level. Analysis of the female data, with smaller Ns on each measure, gave a somewhat altered picture. For females, the locale effect was significant only for the money change measure (χ^2 (2) = 13.48, $p < .01$), while the input level effect was significant on both the money change measure (χ^2 (1) = 8.0, $p < .01$) and the dropped box measure (χ^2 (1) = 8.83, $p < .01$): helpfulness was higher when input level was low. There were no significant interaction effects in the female data.

The basis for the locale effect was identical for all three helpfulness measures: the city sample was significantly less helpful than the city squatter sample and the town sample, while those latter two groups did not differ from each other in level of helpfulness. This same pattern of comparisons between locales also held for the female data, with the following exceptions. For females, the only difference on the interview measure was between the town and city squatter sample (town sample more

TABLE 1

Helpfulness of Male and Female Turkish Subjects by Locale and Input Level

		Interview Help			Change Help			Box Help		
A. Male Subjects										
Locale	Input	Yes	No	Logit[1]	Yes	No	Logit	Yes	No	Logit
City	High	58	23	0.92	40	42	0.06	44	40	0.09
	Low	66	14	1.54	52	31	0.54	46	32	0.35
Town	High	46	4	2.43	42	8	1.66	42	7	1.78
	Low	45	3	2.70	39	5	2.06	38	6	1.83
Squatter	High	42	2	0.03	38	4	2.24	38	6	1.83
	Low	36	1	3.58	27	4	1.91	36	1	3.58
	N	293	47		238	94		244	92	
B. Female Subjects										
Locale	Input									
City	High	19	15	0.23	16	20	0.23	18	17	0.06
	Low	21	12	0.55	22	13	0.52	23	14	0.49
Town	High	7	2	0.84	3	4	0.51	4	7	0.56
	Low	9	3	1.09	14	2	1.93	15	1	2.70
Squatter	High	4	7	0.56	10	3	1.21	7	4	0.55
	Low	9	8	0.11	23	1	3.13	16	1	2.77
	N	69	47		88	43		83	44	

1. Logit = ln (frequency yes/frequency no)

helpful), while the city-town difference on the dropped box measure did not reach significance.

Examination of the helpfulness in the four types of nonsquatter districts is Istanbul and Ankara revealed an identical rank order of the districts on each of the three helpfulness measures, though the difference between districts only reached significance on the money change measure (χ^2 (6) = 22.37, $p < .01$). On each measure, the most helpful district was district 3 (mixed commercial-residential), followed by district 2 (highly urban), district 1 (most urban: central business district), with the suburban area, district 4, the least helpful. Male and female data were combined in this analysis because of the comparability of the districts in their male-female composition. Comparison of the most helpful nonsquatter city district, district 3, with the squatter and town samples, using the male data only, revealed that on each of the three helpfulness measures, helpfulness in district 3 was lower than that obtained in either the squatter or the town sample. For the town-district 3 comparison, this difference was significant for the interview measure (χ^2 (2) = 6.67, $p < .05$) and the dropped box measure (χ^2 (2) = 6.19, $p < .05$), while for the squatter district 3 comparison, the difference reached significance on the dropped box measure (χ^2 (2) = 11.76, $p < .01$).

Mention has already been made that Turkish males were significantly more helpful than females on the interview measure, somewhat more helpful on the dropped box measure (marginal significance), and no different on the money change measure. Separate loglinear analysis of the interaction between sex and locale showed a significant interaction effect for only one of the three helpfulness measures, the interview measure (χ^2 (2) = 11.16, $p < .01$). This interaction reflects the unusually strong sex effect obtained in the squatter sample (χ^2 (1) = 34.75, $p < .01$) in comparison with the town and city samples, though in all three groups males were significantly more helpful than females. Separate loglinear analysis of the interaction between sex and input level revealed a significant interaction effect for

the money change measure (χ^2 (1) = 4.03, $p. < .05$) and a marginally significant interaction effect for the dropped box measure (χ^2 (1) = 3.77, $p. < .06$); no interaction occurred on the interview measure. These interaction effects reflect the previously reported results for the input level effect, which was nonexistent for males, yet significant for females for the money change and dropped box measures.

DISCUSSION

The major findings of this study offer clarification of the ways in which urbanites and nonurbanites in a developing nation are both different and similar in their social behavior. The results showed that for one type of social behavior, the helpfulness shown toward a stranger, town residents are clearly different from nonsquatter city residents, with the urbanites showing significantly less helpfulness on three different naturalistic measures. This itself is a key finding, as it is the first confirmation of city-town differences in helpfulness in a developing nation. It supports the view that behavioral differences between urban and nonurban environments may indeed be a somewhat general phenomenon, extending to cultures where some have argued (Hauser, 1965) that this is less likely to occur.

Turkish cities appear to have different behavioral characteristics from Turkish towns, yet the results of this study also point to the existence of local environments within the city which differ considerably in their level of helpfulness. Most interesting in this regard were the squatter settlements of Istanbul and Ankara, whose residents showed a level of helpfulness that was equal to that found in Turkish towns and significantly greater than that found in the rest of Istanbul and Ankara. Initially, we can say that whatever is responsible for a lower helpfulness rate in cities within Turkey does not exert its influence within the squatter areas. The behavioral equiva-

lency between town and squatter residents supports the analysis of Abu-Loghod (1961) and others who argue for the persistence of "urban villages" in large metropolitan areas whose residents have not adapted their behavior toward patterns that comprise the urban stereotype, e.g., distrustful, impersonal, unhelpful. The urban squatter settlements of Turkey do resemble urban villages; that is, they are composed of residents who have migrated from small towns and villages and who live immersed in extensive friend and kinship networks that derive from their original homes. Their low income status and strong identification with a territorial area may also encourage local patterns of mutual aid which then may be extended to strangers who need assistance. And in any case, the present study has supported the urban villager stereotype by demonstrating that the social behavior of these residents does resemble that of their small town counterparts rather than of their fellow urbanites.

Further evidence of intracity differences in helpfulness was found in the comparison of the different nonsquatter districts of Turkish cities, though these differences, while consistent, were not terribly strong. The rank order of districts in terms of helpfulness did correspond with the expected association between higher urbanization and lower helpfulness, with one major exception—the suburbs, where the lowest level of helpfulness was obtained. This finding stands in opposition to previous data, from Canada, on the helpfulness to be found in suburbs (Rushton, 1978), and it is not clear what particular environmental, cultural, population, or other factors might explain this particular outcome. A final point to note about the intracity variation in helpfulness found in Turkish cities is that it matched in size the variation that occurred in the city-town comparison. This suggests the importance of appreciating the differentiation between local environments within the city, whose behavioral characteristics should tell us a lot about the complex interplay between a multitude of influential factors; level of urbanization alone is not the sole explanation of

helpfulness, as witnessed by the results from the suburbs and squatter settlements in Turkey.

Higher levels of environmental input reduced the helpfulness of Turkish females, but not Turkish males. This was an unexpected outcome and an intriguing one in light of other recent research suggesting sex differences in response to environmental conditions (Epstein and Karlin, 1975) and also in light of possible cultural interpretations. Viewed in the former light, the results could be interpreted as indicating a greater responsiveness on the part of females to the level of environmental bombardment and a corresponding greater adjustment in their level of helpfulness. On the other hand, a cultural interpretation involves recognition of a Turkish (and Islamic) norm that stresses the importance of a woman's noninvolvement with strangers in a public setting. In this study, the high input locales may have been regarded as more public than the low input locales, and hence in the former the norm was more salient and more adhered to, resulting in a reduced level of helpfulness among the Turkish women. Neither explanation can be evaluated with the data of the present study, and this unexpected sex difference in the effects of input level can only be regarded as an intriguing outcome that requires further empirical examination.

The present study found clear sex differences in helping behavior, yet no weakening of this difference in the city versus the town or squatter environments, in fact sex differences were strongest in the squatter settlements. The direction of the overall sex difference obtained, i.e., males more helpful, seems partly interpretable by reference to Moslem norms that could have deterred Turkish women from involving themselves with strangers in public. Why this did not affect the money change measure, where women were equally helpful, is not altogether clear, though it may be that the change measure did not require the length of involvement as did the interview measure, nor the initiation of contact as did the dropped box measure. Yet whatever factors were responsible for a sex difference

were as strong in the city as in the town, thus disconfirming the expectation that an urban environment erodes traditional social patterns.

In conclusion, the present study has demonstrated the reality of an overall difference in levels of helpfulness toward a stranger between city and town residents in Turkey, a culture quite dissimilar in many ways from the United States. Yet the sizes of city-town differences were matched by the differences occurring between different sections of Turkish cities, when one includes the squatter settlements. The distinctiveness of the squatter residents, indicated by patterns of social behavior resembling those found in Turkish towns, was confirmed and supports a view that stresses the heterogeneity rather than the homogeneity of the behavioral phenomena which occur in an urban environment. The influence of cultural variables on these patterns can only be partly clarified within a single study, yet the present study has identified systematic variations in social behavior which parallel and contrast results found in other cultures.

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A German version of Spence and Helmreich's Extended Personal Attributes Questionnaire (EPAQ), a measure of socially desirable and undesirable components of "Masculine" instrumentality and "feminine" expressivity, was administered to three samples in West Germany to determine whether its psychometric properties in that setting were similar to those found in samples in the United States. Factor analyses and scale intercorrelations conducted on the data from male and female high school and college students closely replicated the results reported for U.S. groups. Significant sex differences in the predicted direction were also found on all scales. The data thus support the conceptual model of masculine and feminine personality traits proposed by Spence and Helmreich as being useful for another country, West Germany, as well as the usefulness of the EPAQ as a measuring device. In addition, intracultural comparisons of the German samples were conducted to determine the relevance of the personality dimensions tapped by the EPAQ to vocational self-selection. Significant differences in theoretically reasonable directions were found between high school and college students and samples of individuals enrolled in a social work training program and a training program for nursery school teachers.

MASCULINE (INSTRUMENTAL) AND FEMININE (EXPRESSIVE) TRAITS
A Comparison Between Students in the United States and West Germany

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Division of labor between the sexes is almost universal in human societies; in most of them men are assigned the major

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